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Rebellion and Inequality in Archaeology

Svend Hansen, Johannes Müller

2017 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN LANDSCAPES 11

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REBELLION AND INEQUALITY
IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Proceedings of the Kiel Workshops "Archaeology of Rebellion" (2014) and "Social Inequality as a Topic in Archaeology" (2015)

edited by: Svend Hansen und Johannes Müller

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human development in landscapes

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PREFACE OF THE SERIES EDITOR

Research on "Landscape" – as a product of both environmental conditions and the creation of social space – is one of the most important issues in coming to terms with current problems. Past "Human Development in Landscapes" is the core topic of the Kiel Graduate School (GSHDL), which has been working within the framework of the Excellence Initiative since 2007. As the visible result of socio-environmental research, we decided to create this series under the same name, providing the possibility to publish relevant themes.

This volume is a product of two workshops on "Inequality" and "Rebellion" that took place in Kiel. The workshop "Social Inequality as a Topic in Archaeology" 2015 was organized together with the German Archaeological Institute (Eurasia Department); the workshop "Archaeology of Rebellion" 2014 especially by the Graduate School. During the workshop on inequality, the participating scientists made enormous progress on single aspects of social stratification in prehistoric communities, supplementing information to what was already achieved in 2007 by the International Kiel Conference on Social Archaeology. A quite new topic was set with our workshop on the archaeology of rebellion, especially held in commemoration of the sailor's mutiny in Kiel (1918), which finalised the First World War and the German monarchy. All the workshop and conference publications represent the efforts of the Kiel Social Inequality group that tries to combine social theory, methodology and the analyses of our environmental and archaeological archives to avoid a vulgarisation of the discourse on social inequality in prehistoric and archaic societies.

For further publications on socio-environmental research, we invite other scientists and scholars to publish their results in the HDL (Human Development in Landscapes) series. In addition to the editors of the volume, the Graduate School heartily thanks Janine Cordts and Eileen Küçükaraca, Kiel for technical and scientific editing work. Without their efforts, this book would not have been possible.

Johannes Müller

PREFACE OF THE EDITORS

Social inequality – but in particular also social resistance against corresponding social hierarchies – occupies a prominent position in almost all current societies. In order to continue to advance in the tradition of addressing necessary discourses on these topics in archaeology, two scientific meetings were held in Kiel in 2014 and 2015, specifically: "The Archaeology of Rebellion" and "Social Inequality as a Topic in Archaeology". With the "Rebellion" workshop, the topic of social resistance was discussed for the first time in Central Europe for prehistoric and protohistoric societies. As a result, it could be clearly determined that the identification of social conflicts and social resistance is successful for many archaeological case studies. Accordingly, the interpretation of numerous archaeological features and finds must be seen in a new light.

The workshop "Social Inequality as a Topic in Archaeology" investigated traditional and current forms of inequality research and aimed to generate a theoretical update in order to illustrate the methodological spectrum and, using case studies, to present an overview on the inequalities in societies from the outset of agricultural production until the state and non-state societies of the Bronze Age. This meeting belongs to a fortunately increasing number of conferences and workshops on social archaeology, which commenced with the conference "Perspectives in Social Archaeology: Social Change 5000–1500 BC between the Atlantic and the Caucasus" in Kiel in 2007.

Just as the conference in 2007 was jointly organized by the Eurasia Department of the DAI and the Institute of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Archaeology in Kiel, the conference „Social Inequality as a Topic in Archaeology" continued with the tradition of joint work between the DAI and Kiel University. We would like to thank the DFG for their financial support of the conference in 2015 and the Graduate School "Human Development in Landscapes" (GSHDL) for financially supporting the workshop in 2014, which was organized by the GSHDL and the Institute of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Archaeology. We have decided to publish the contributions from both meetings in one volume.

Besides the authors of all contributions, we also express our thanks to Janine Cordts and Eileen Küçükaraca, Kiel for technical and scientific editing work. Their efforts enabled the ultimate completion of this book.

Svend Hansen, Johannes Müller

THE KIEL GRADUATE SCHOOL "HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN LANDSCAPES"

In order to gain an understanding of human development, an accurate description of the interactions between mankind and both physical and perceived environments is required. At Kiel University, this is exemplified by numerous graduate projects in the natural sciences that have been and are tackling archaeological problems, while, at the same time, cultural studies and archaeology provide important evidence and directions for scientific analysis.

Intensified cross-linkages between academic disciplines, graduate researchers' growing needs for analytical equipment and an efficient infrastructure, as well as an increasingly internationalized research community made it necessary to set up a multi-disciplinary Graduate School (GS). This school provides graduate students with access to new research and diverse communication structures, enabling them to conduct innovative investigations. The GS is part of the Excellence Initiative of the Federal German Government.

We define landscape as a dynamic space of social, cultural, and ecological significance, which develops interactively with the human societies occupying it. Accordingly, we outline a GS concept that merges information from numerous fields, such as molecular biology and archaeology, geoinformatics and art history, geophysics and isotope research, ancient languages and palaeoecology, and written/oral traditions and palaeoclimate, in order to study and understand this interactive development. The dynamics of human development – and thus of landscape and living space – are captured by a complex interplay of diverse factors (biological traits of social groups, conditions of the natural environment, social constants and their material representations), which are covered by the joint research of our disciplines. The results of this research yield new impulses for current landscape and cultural management.

THE SCIENTIFIC CONCEPT

The global theme of human development within cultural and natural environments is associated with the detection of cross-linkages between different factors: the influence of man on nature and vice versa. At present, the natural change of environmental conditions must be investigated at more precise timescales, while human impact on the environment needs to be understood. The creation of cultural environments over time and space amplifies the meaning of landscape: Apart from the impact of natural conditions on individual (health and genetics), ecological (soil, climate and vegetation) and technological (wind/waterpower and natural resources) developments, social constants (social hierarchies and ideologies) also play a decisive role in the formation of landscapes.

Social environments within this concept of landscapes are not only reflected by material remains but also by the spatial imprints of mobility and sustainability. The development of social space under specific ecological conditions is linked to the ideological systems which keep societies, for economic reasons or ritual purposes, together.

In this respect, the study of landscapes does not only concern environmental, demographic, and social reconstructions but also the ideological changes regarding "landscapes", i.e. the conceptions that individuals and societies have concerning "nature". The appropriation of landscapes by societies and their ambiguous symbolisms enable diverse reconstructions of the environments of different social groups and cultures.

Highly dynamic spatio-temporal processes underlie the data collected by numerous disciplines of the Graduate School, whereby an understanding of these processes requires expertise in palaeoclimatic, palaeoecological, palaeodemographic and cultural research. Although the processes involved are of global character and apply to the entire span of human history, individual case studies emerging from the Graduate School concentrate primarily on the Holocene, which is the key era of interactions between humans and landscapes. These investigations focus mainly on Europe and adjacent regions.

THREE CLUSTERS AND THREE PLATFORMS OF RESEARCH

According to the underlying scientific concept, a breakdown of the relationship between cultural and natural environments into three general themes, which serve as the main research areas of the GS, is essential:

- **Society and Reflection**: How did human groups conceive their natural and cultural environments and thus their landscapes? What means were employed by societies to structure these landscapes?
- **Social Space and Landscape:** How did demographic and technical changes influence the formation of social groups and landscapes? What kind of genetic differentiation is visible in animal and human groups after the pre-shaping of environmental conditions?
- **Adaptation and Innovation:** How did environmental conditions change and how was social space re-organised within the new local, regional, and global conditions? How did landscapes evolve after the iterative processes of the interaction between nature and society and how can they be characterized?

As the universally relevant factors that underlie the concept of landscape – defined as social space and natural environment bearing the activities of human groups – require the thematic cross-linkage of several disciplines, the PhD research proposed within the clusters is centered on highly interdisciplinary subthemes. Thus, this research is supported by three organizational platforms – the Communication Platform, the Technical Platform and the Humanities Platform. They provide a harmonization of scientific cultures and didactic aid, offer access to numerous tools and expertise in analytical methods and assist graduates with the acquisition of sources such as text and image databases.

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ARCHAEOLOGY OF REBELLION
ARCHÄOLOGIE DER REBELLION

The archaeology of social change in landscapes

Workshop of the Graduate School "Human Development in Landscapes"

Monday, 3. November 2014, Johanna-Mestorf-Hörsaal, JMS4 - R. 28, Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte

9.00-9.30 Einführung Politische Ökonomie, Archäologie und Aufstände / Political Economy, Archaeology and Rebellion

Johannes Müller, Kiel

9.30-10.00 The Capability Approach and Rebellion / Der Capability-Ansatz and Rebellion

V.P.J. Arponen, Kiel

10.00-10.30 Das Ende der Bandkeramik / The End of the Bandkeramik

Ulrike Sommer, London

10.30-11.00 Hallstatt und Aufstand / Hallstatt and Rebellion

Niels Müller-Scheeßel, Frankfurt a.M.

11.00-11.30 Contested Power: Iron Age Societies against the State

Manuel Fenandez-Götz, Edinburgh

11.30-12.00 Diskussion

12.00-13.00 Mittag

13.00-13.30 Philosophien der Revolution / Philosophy of Revolution

Konrad Ott

13.30-14.00 Network Empires and Sand Pirates: Ancient Western Asian Governmentality reconsidered

Reinhard Bernbeck, Berlin

14.00-14.30 Ungleichheit im südosteuropäischen Chalkolithikum / Inequality in the Southeast European Chalcolithic

Arne Windler, Bochum

14.30-15.00 Social change and rebellion in the Bronze Age

Slawomir Kadrow, Krakow

15.30-16.00 Aspekte der frühbronzezeitlichen Krise am Beispiel Vrable / Aspects of social upheaval in Vrable?

Knut Rassmann, Frankfurt a.M.

16.00-16.30 Staat und Aufstand in El Argar-Gesellschaften / State and Rebellion in El Argar Societies

Roberto Risch u.a., Barcelona

16.30-17.00 Spätbronzezeit und direkte Aktion / Late Bronze Age and Direct Action

Sabine Reinhold, Berlin

17.00-18.00 Abschlussdiskussion: Die politische Relevanz archäologischer Forschung in Zeiten des Umbruchs
Final Discussion: The Political Significance of Archaeological Research in Times of Change

18.00-20.00 Direkte Aktion: Zur Erinnerung an den Matrosenaufstand 1918
Direct Action: In Memory of the Kiel Upheaval 1918

20.00 ... auf zum Salon / to the saloon.

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SOCIAL INEQUALITY

AS A TOPIC IN ARCHAEOLOGY

09–12 MARCH 2015

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE KIEL

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INSTITUTUM ARCHAEOLOGICUM GERMANICUM

Poster-Idea and Design by Janine Cordts

Svend Hansen and Johannes Müller

REBELLION AND INEQUALITY IN ARCHAEOLOGY – AN INTRODUCTION

Rebellion and Inequality in Archaeology unites articles describing theoretical approaches and discourses as well as investigations with the application of middle-range theories in order to detect social differences and rebellion in specific case studies. While the theoretical remarks integrate critical approaches on concepts about inequalities and social conflicts, the approaches on the identification of inequality and rebellion include studies of Neolithic, Chalcolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age and modern archaeology.

While the term "rebellion" or even the question of the detection of social "revolution" has only been inquired about in rare circumstances in archaeology, within our attempt a configuration of archaeological archives regarding both inequality and rebellion is envisaged.

In a first effort, Johannes Müller provides a general picture of the development of social inequality and social conflicts in European prehistory. For non-Mediterranean Europe, he draws a kind of wavy-line boom and bust of social differentiation from the Mesolithic to the Iron Age. This contrasts with most evolutionistic views that indicate a steady increase of social inequalities from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age. Within the general empiric observation, a social boom and bust of rebellions plays its role in his diachronic case studies, finalizing periods of stronger social stratification.

In the first block of contributions to this volume: "Inequality and Rebellion: Theoretical Remarks", four authors specify their systematics and criticism on social events, processes and structures. The philosopher Vesa Arponen introduces the capability approach to the archaeology of inequalities. Inequalities are not generally seen as pure differences in material conditions, but welfare is rather defined as the possibility of individuals and groups of individuals to gain access to resources or doings. Using an archaeological example, the evaluation of the new approach was tested. As in Arponen's approach, in which the household and the being is of importance, the sociologist Matthias Jung critically introduces Bourdieu's concept of habitus with respect to social inequality. He develops a straightforward critique on the possibilities to identify the kind of social practice that was described by Habermas for recent societal conditions.

With respect to social "revolutions", the philosopher Konrad Ott develops aspects of novelty, liberation, violence, agency, scale, scope and narratives within his theoretical approach as a kind of model to categorise social conflicts in relation to history, revolutionary doctrines, spectators and phenomenology. Within such a reflection on "revolution" mainly concerning modern societies, the distinction of triggers also seems to be relevant for the archaeology of rebellion. In a further contribution, Vesa Arponen identifies social conflict in the context of Sen's capability approach. In his view, particularly the disenfranchisement of certain parts of the population could be a trigger of social upheaval. Subsequently, the archaeologist Reinhard Bernbeck sets the notion of "rebellion" in relation to terms such as evasion and revolution. He argues that rebellion is "a particular type of (mostly unsuccessful) resistance in societies with institutionalized power. No analysis of such kinds of resistance can be complete without an understanding of the specific types of 'governmentalities' against which they work" (Bernbeck this volume). In Bernbeck's view, a reading in between the lines is necessary to observe aspects of "counter-power" in the archaeological record.

In the second section of investigations in this volume "Inequality and Rebellion: The

Archaeological Record", authors of different ideological schools cope with different methods and interpretations from the Neolithic to modern times. Arne Windler presents a quantification of wealth differences in the material representation of individuals in the cemetery of Durankulak (5200–4600 BCE), Bulgaria. The author uses the Gini-Index to display "inequality". Svend Hansen is able to develop a kind of "iconography of inequality" by the identification, e.g., of the "lion" as a more general symbol for kingship (4th and 3th millennia BCE). In doing so, he can trace power and kingship in the North Caucasus. Moreover, traces of inequality are represented in his view in the differences of figurine design with an increasing display of ornaments on the body, which seem to have become ever more important since the 7th millennium BCE.

Douglas Price and Brigitte Gebauer analyse South Scandinavian Early and Middle Neolithic societies (ca. 4000–2500 BCE) with respect to surplus: "*Material wealth* is what we commonly think of in terms of land, livestock, slaves, jewellery, and other objects. *Relational wealth* involves an individual's place in society in social networks, including the number of connections a person or groups may have. What Smith et al. call *embodied wealth* involves personal conditions and abilities – health, strength, endurance, intelligence, knowledge, and skills" (Price/Gebauer this volume). If so, "the amount of grave goods in some non-megalithic graves and dolmens and the few select graves placed in the earthen long barrows suggest a strong and public focus on particular individuals" (ibid.). In her essay on megalithic monuments and equality, Maria Wunderlich identifies feasting activities in connection with megalithic monuments and enclosures (3700–2800 BCE). She pinpoints similar patterns in the materiality of ethnographic examples and TRB monumentality with an emphasis on a non-stratified society.

Sławomir Kadrow is also able to describe the changes of a place from a domestic site with competing, but balanced families and clans to a cemetery for a Late Neolithic context in Southeastern Poland (ca. 2050 BCE), thus illustrating the destruction of the former structures. On a symbolic level, he could identify the use of Bell Beaker symbolism by a partitioning and later ruling group: "Precisely for that reason, to gain indispensable legitimization for their new moral order, the social movement promoting new ideology made use of symbols and rituals rooted in the old-sanctioned BB tradition" (Kadrow this volume). Matheusz Jaeger is able to disassociate the social structures of the Carpathian Bronze Age from a centre-periphery approach: Assumed Aegean influences were not the trigger of social developments in a periphery, but local and regional developments fostered local adaptations and changes. In her empiric comparison of circum-alpine Bronze Age cemeteries, Mireille David-Elbiali indicates that mainly age or gender aspects characterise social differentiation.

For Bronze Age Caucasia, Sabine Reinhold demonstrates shifts between segmented, communal and cellular organized settlements: "[…] the conceptual sequence of an emerging elite followed by a nearly egalitarian lifestyle visible in the organization of social space in the North Caucasian Late Bronze Age represents a rare case study of a quick succession of an opposing organisation concept" (Reinhold this volume). In principle, she states that social conflict, such as a rebellion, was responsible for the kind of change that is visible in the changing settlement pattern.

In his investigation on Iron Age societies of South-Central Europe, Manuel Fernández-Götz outlines a development towards strongly socially differentiated societies that collapsed at different times for different reasons. While the establishment of Late Hallstatt *Fürstensitze* or Late La Tène *oppida* corresponds to climatically favourable phases, the destruction of sites and systems in some regions seems to be connected to social tension. In Late La Tène, a new stage of development is reached: "A combination of factors – including progressive demographic growth, an upsurge in demand by the Mediterranean world and the introduction of new techniques that allowed agricultural and industrial output to be increased – would have led to a rise in 'social density' and increased hierarchisation, which could no longer be so easily reduced by resorting to migration as in earlier times" (Fernández-Götz this volume). While Manuel Fernández-Götz draws a general picture of Iron Age development, Nils

Müller-Scheeßel investigates possible aspects of social unrest in the Early Iron Age world.

Finally, Ulrich Müller proceeds with an analysis of the historical archaeology of resistance, integrating written sources and reports into what is observable and what is not observable. Things and materiality of a 18th and 19th century slave prison and of a 20th century peace camp are evaluated to detect resistance in action.

Inequality and Rebellion in Archaeology integrates a wide diversity of approaches as well as a joint perspective in detecting events and processes of social hierarchisation and social conflict, and the reasons for such developments. In consequence, archaeology has many possibilities to reconstruct both the diachronic development of social inequality and social resistance.

Johannes Müller

REBELLION AND INEQUALITY: HIERARCHY AND BALANCE

ABSTRACT

For European prehistory, two models of the development of social inequality can be delineated: one model indicates a tendential increase as opposed to a second, which assumes a wave-shaped increase and decrease of social stratification. In the latter, rebellions and other forms of resistance against social differentiation are identified as one of many practices within societies to prevent social stratification. On the basis of three examples, these social theoretical observations will be discussed and combined to a view about hierarchy and balance in prehistoric societies.

INTRODUCTION

Among the most pressing problems of today's world is the development of social inequalities (Milanovic 2016; Piketty 2014). Due to the unequal distribution of goods and the unequal access to resources, numerous consequences are experienced, including forms of peaceful and violent resistance against existing conditions as well as increasing mobility between societies that are differently structured – both socially and institutionally. Correspondingly, in recent decades the discussion on inequalities in prehistoric societies has significantly increased not only in European archaeology (e.g. Cardarelli et al. 2017; Earle/Kristiansen 2011; Flannery/Marcus 2012; Hansen/Müller 2010; Kienlin/Zimmermann 2012; Knipper et al. 2015; McGuire/Paynter 1991; Meller et al. 2016; Müller/Bernbeck 1996; Price/Feinman 2010; Price/Feinmann 1995; Vandkilde 2010). In addition to theoretical and methodological discourses on the recognition of "social inequality" in pre-literate societies, it is also a challenge how inequalities can be identified with purely archaeological sources without the corresponding find coherence being superimposed by simple theoretical aspects, which can also have antithetical meanings. Although discourses on social inequality determine the scientific orientation of social archaeology *per se,* the processes of social development, especially for pre-literate societies, have still not been sufficiently described. On the one hand, individual and singular events are described, while, on the other hand, various factors are identified, which are intended to determine medium and long-term social developments. In fact, *external* factors are often mentioned in order to explain social change. The last examples of this are the prehistoric "migrations" that have been reconstructed by aDNA analyses, which again illustrate a strong cultural-historical view of change processes due to external population dynamics (Heyd 2017; Kristiansen et al. 2017).

In contrast, it is increasingly apparent that *internal* changes, even of short-term nature, can be identified particularly in light of improved archaeological field and evaluation methods. While in previous research the aspects of short-term events, resulting from experienced uncertainties due to social inequality, were often not discussed, we can now identify internal social conflicts with the political actors of those affected. Correspondingly, it is possible to address social conflicts, which as rebellions or revolutions either violently or peacefully led to short-term changes with long-term effects. In the following, I will accordingly deal with concepts of social devel-

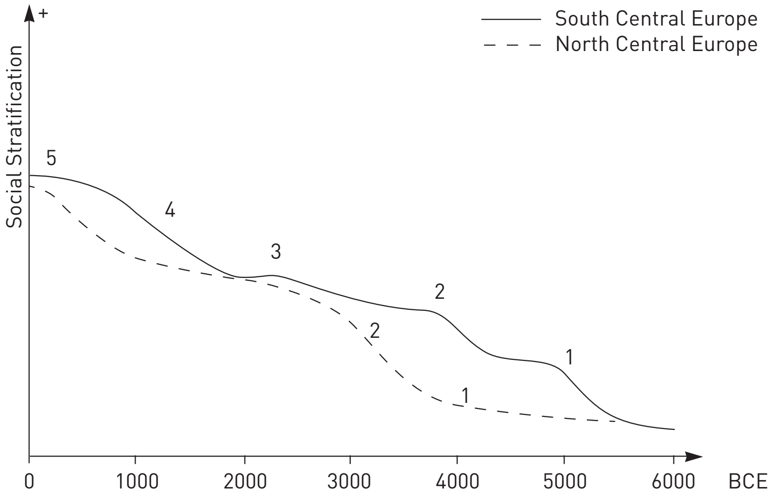

Fig. 1. Model of the increase of social differences in European prehistory: The example of North and South Central Europe. Triggers: 1 establishment of horti- and agricultural practices; 2 copper metallurgy and changes in transport technologies; 3 sub-continental value systems and networks; 4 site agglomeration; 5 Iron technology (cf. Müller 2013).

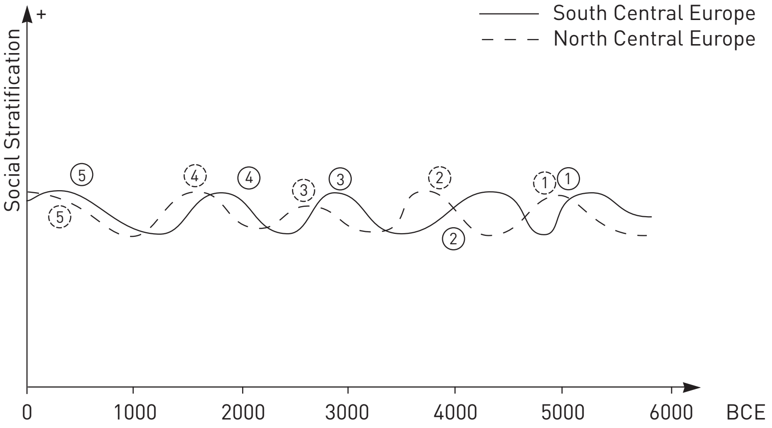

Fig. 2. Model of the wave-shaped increase and decrease of social differences for prehistoric Europe: The example of North and South Central Europe. South Central European social constitutes: 1 Late LBK; 2 Michelsberg formation; 3 Late Neolithic formation; 4 Later Beaker development; 5 Late Hallstatt oppida. North Central Europe constitutes: 1 Early Ertebölle; 2 Early Neolithic TRB; 3 Young Neolitihic Corded Ware; 4 Late Neolithic/Nordic Older Bronze Age; 5 Iron Technology (cf. Fernandez-Götz 2017; Gronenborn 2016; Müller 2013; Zimmermann 2012).

opment in Europe, aspects of social conflicts, and with examples of these as well as with possible consequences for the conceptual development of archaeological research.

CONCEPTS OF INEQUALITY IN PREHISTORIC EUROPE

If one looks at European prehistory before the development of state societies, two different poles of interpretation of the archaeological archives regarding social development can be identified. On the one hand, the assumption of the continual increase of social inequality between Palaeolithic and Iron Age or early medieval societies (e.g. Grünert 1982) and, on the other hand, the assumption of a rather wavy-shaped increase and decrease of social inequality during prehistory without any major discernible social differences until the last pre-Christian centuries (e.g. Knipper et al. 2015) **(Fig. 1–2)**. Between these two poles there is, of course, a large range for interpretational possibilities (Bowles et al. 2010). Moreover, it is conceivable but has not yet been discussed that social differences were especially high in non-state-organised societies and that socially more "equal" relations first arose through the development of pre-state and state regulation mechanisms. Such a concept has rarely been investigated in archaeological and anthropological analyses (in contrast cf. Knauft 1991).

Figure 1 represents the model in which increasing social differences are assumed. Among its basic concepts is the assumption that foraging groups are to be considered as socially equal, which, of course, does not exclude inequality due to biological factors or the like. In the framework of a changing economy and demographic increases, successive farming or artisan-oriented societies are interpreted to have been more socially differentiated. In most cases, these social differences are traced back to a non-hereditary exercise of social power during the European Neolithic, to inheritable domination during the Bronze Age and to hegemonially-based[1] domination in the pre-Christian Iron Age. Accordingly, basic concepts have been generated, for example, the discussion in Central Europe about Bronze Age "elites", who determined the economic and cultural orientation of societies (Bertemes 2016; Cardarelli 2017; Earle/Kristiansen 2010; Egg/Quast 2009; Harding 2000; Kristiansen/Larsson 2005; Lull et al. 2011; Strahm 2010), or the localization of Late Hallstadt "princes", who dominated tributary territories like, e.g., a medieval "*Personenverbandsstaat*", based on a relationship of dependency between the powerful and the powerless (Biel/Krausse 2003; Egg 1996; Hänsel 1998; Kimmig 1983; Krausse 2010; Steffen 2012; Zürn 1970). In contrast, Late Palaeolithic and Mesolithic groups, as such, are viewed as having a lower level of goods and considered to have been only slightly differentiated (Glørstad 2010; Grøn 2003; Grünberg 2000; Klassen 2004; Smith et al. 2010; Klassen 2004, 257–271), whereas Neolithic societies are interpreted as "Big Man" societies of acephalous character or such with an organized, but variable social constitution (Cazzella/Recchia 2017; Classen et al. 2010; Furholt 2017; Gronenborn 2016; Müller 2011; Parkinson 2006).

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[1] "Domination" is understood as the institutionalised possibility of authority over persons, animals and other resources.

The illustrated developmental model evolves from very different ideological directions. We recognize a cultural-historical basis, which supposes, for example, strong social similarity of social conditions for Central Europe between the Iron Age and medieval times simply due to shorter temporal distances (Kimmig 1983). A rather Marxist perspective is recognized, which assumed increasing social differentiation due to an increasing division of labour in light of increasingly complex technologies (Engels 1884; Grünert 1982; Morgan 1877; Spriggs 1984). Finally, we also deal with a processual-evolutionist concept, which identifies increasing social differentiation from a social-anthropological perspective as a result of the increasing population size of social units and more complex technological development (Fried 1960; Johnson 1982; Service 1962).

Figure 2 depicts the model that assumes more or less similar social development in Europe until first state structures emerge. This model has not yet been discussed in this form, but it is based on different approaches. Empirically, it is assumed that long-term stable social structures are only archaeologically verifiable in very rare cases until La Tène times. In many analyses, it is also presented how social differentiation takes place, but also how this is repeatedly discontinued or interrupted (Eisenhauer 1999a; Fernandez-Götz 2017; Fernandez-Götz/Krausse 2016; Kneisel et al. 2012; Zimmermann 2012). From a social anthropological perspective, many studies emphasize sociologically, for example, that differences in social organization must not necessarily exist between agrarian and foraging societies (Bowles et al. 2010; Shenk et al. 2010). Particularly concerning technology developments or population densities, an increasing number of examples indicate that corresponding areas are not necessarily linked to economic forms or social categories. Larger population densities do not necessarily imply stronger social stratification; even technologies that are based on a division of labour can operate in a social horizontal instead of in a stratifying manner. For Central Europe, there are observations in basic archaeological sources, which, for example, verify the development of intensified social stratification for the Early Chalcolithic Period (Baalberge), the Early Bronze Age (Únětice) or the pre-Christian Iron Age (Late Hallstatt / Early La Tène), which, however, is then discontinued (Fernandez-Götz 2017; Gronenborn 2016; Kneisel 2011; Müller 2001; Nakoinz 2013). From these observations, the concept of a wave-shaped movement with stronger and weaker social stratification is developed. The latter model implies transformation processes in which social conflicts, for example, in the form of rebellions, emerge and lead to renewed "social equality".

ASPECTS OF SOCIAL CONFLICTS

Independent of the original causes of, for example, increasing social stratification, in many historical and recent cases an increase of conflicts can be observed, ultimately leading to rebellions or organized revolutions against existing conditions. In contrast to historical investigations or recent political debates, the *concrete* reconstruction of social conflicts rarely played a role in the archaeology of pre-literate societies. As already shown, for a long time this was due to the unsharpness of archaeological sources, which in the meanwhile is no longer relevant due to the improvement of methodology. We now know that respective inner-social disputes can also be verified for prehistoric societies (Arnold 2010; Arponen et al. 2015). A decisive contribution to this development is made by hypotheses, which determine internal instead of external causes as the impetus for changes. Accordingly, destruction horizons, the plunder of goods and the like can be interpreted in light of internal social conflicts.

In principle, we can differentiate between different spatial, temporal and intensity scales:

- The destruction of rich households and their housing within individual settlements indicates local effects of social compensation, which could not be achieved in another way.
- The widespread destruction of weapons or jewellery can point to a regional tendency to ideologically destroy "expendable" or "unwanted" artifacts.
- The destruction of outstanding neighbourhoods in settlement communities indicates planned actions that were accomplished.
- A medium-term, persistent destruction of community facilities or also the discovery of mass graves at certain facilities may indicate spatially broad actions in the framework of social disputes.

Fundamentally, different spatial dimensions of violent processes become clear – from locally restricted to regional or even transregional effective conflicts. The processes of change at the end of the Central European Linear Pottery culture definitely verify that we may not be dealing with singular events but with longer lasting conflicts (Eisenhauer 1999b).

THREE EXAMPLES OF SOCIAL CONFLICTS

Within archaeological archives, as described, numerous findings and finds can be placed in the context of social conflicts – including the framework of rebellions or organised revolutions with social consequences. In the following, three examples from the pre-Christian Iron Age, the Bronze Age and the Neolithic may show how the compilation of evidence with well-developed chronologies enables a corresponding interpretation of short-term events.

Southern German Iron Age: Heuneburg and Magdalenenberg

A relative impressive example is known from the Southern Central European Late Hallstatt period (Arnold 2010; Fernandez-Götz 2017; Krausse/Fernandez-Götz 2012; Kurz 2010) (**Fig. 3**). In the framework of the development of Southern German/Eastern French *oppida,* the Heuneburg developed as a large settlement agglomeration on the Upper Danube from about 620 BCE onwards. An upper settlement, which was spatially separated from the rest of the settlement by an elaborate fortification, constituted the political centre of the entire settlement, which developed into a strongly socially differentiated facility, encompassing ca. 100 ha and including a reconstructed population of about 5000 persons. Obviously, the concentration of certain crafts and subsistence goods in the upper settlement bestowed the inhabitants with an increasingly prominent position.

Since with the central Heuneburg settlement area we are dealing with the oldest part of the settlement agglomeration from the end of the 7th century BC, and the remaining so-called outer settlement with inserted but continuing agrarian homestead structures ("*Gehöftstrukturen*") developed around this topographically elevated settlement during the first half of the 6th pre-Christian century, it can be assumed that in the centre we are also concentrating on the older, perhaps mythical founder families of the Heuneburg (Kurz

2010). There, houses could be seen as occupied ancestor houses that represent the ritual centre of the further developing lineages in the lower settlement (for the concept "ancestor houses" cf. Gunawan 2000). Obviously, the concentration of economic, political and ritual power among the central families led to a situation in which they spatially distanced themselves from the rest of the population through representative buildings, for example, the seemingly Mediterranean mud brick wall as a visible, inner fortification (i.a. also for a separation from the rest of the settlement) that was connected to a huge representative gateway on dry stone masonry.

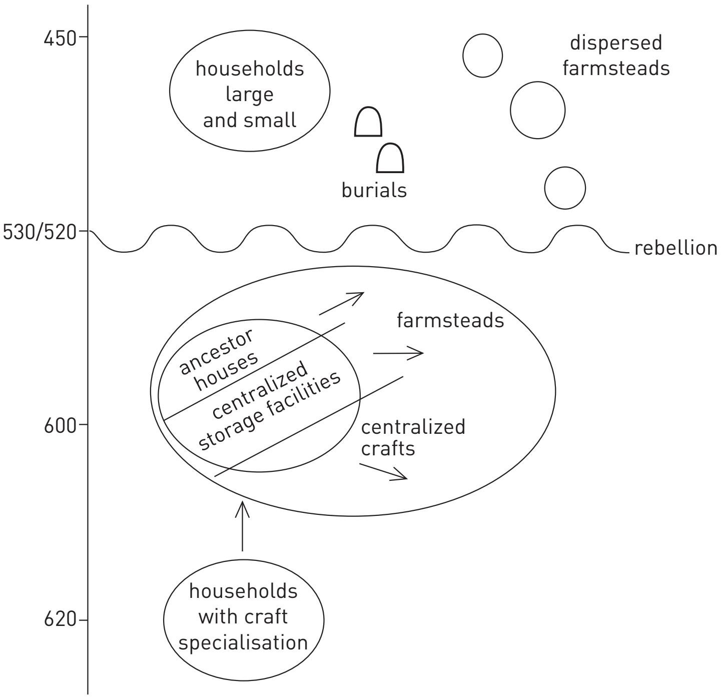

Fig. 3. Social interpretation of the Late Hallstatt Heuneburg, Southwest Germany. The 3-phase development started around 620 BCE with a fortified settlement with craft specialisation. It changed in the first half of the 6th century BCE into a centrale quartier with dominant households in ancestor houses, centralized crafts, and centralized storage facilities, separated from the developing lower settlement with organized farmsteads. After the possible rebellion at ca. 540/530 BCE, population agglomeration in the lower settlement ceased and a dispersed settlement pattern appeared again. The upper settlement functioned as the centralized area of large households. There, burial mounds dominate the former area of the outer settlement.

The violent events, which have already been described a number of times, occurred around 540/530 BC and destroyed the mud brick wall, i.a., with a large fire. This can be interpreted as a form of inner rebellion. The outer settlement was abandoned and again a more dispersed settlement pattern with individual farms without an obvious linkage to the central settlement of the Heuneburg is discernible. In the central settlement, the re-emergence of a simple settlement structure also occurs with separate instead of common grain storage. In Siegfried Kurz's interpretation, the descendants of the "inner" families are precisely the actors, who resisted within the clan structures against the developing dominance of the central "acropolis". An expression of these changes is not only the recurrence of the late Heuneburg settlement with a significantly smaller concentration of demographic and economic power or the return to a typical regional fortification type but also the import of Mediterranean goods, such as wine amphorae or Attic black-figured shards, which obviously represent a new legitimation in a different reference system. The fact that these imported Mediterranean goods represent a generally more equitable reference system is illustrated by their occurrence at contemporaneous non-fortified settlements. The reference to the "ancestors", which was strongly associated with the ancestor-houses of the central settlement in the beginning phase of the Heuneburg, took place thereafter in large burial mounds above the former outer settlement.

Therefore, we recognize a social rebellion in the Heuneburg at ca. 540/530 BC, which led, on the one hand, to an intra-societal reduction of social power of a specific group within the settlement and, on the other hand, to a disintegration in settlement. In his analysis, Manuel Fernández-Götz specifies how in the intermediate-term particularly such events arguably led to a reduction and finally to the collapse of the Late Hallstatt/Early La Tène social system in the West Hallstatt sphere (Fernández-Götz 2017).

In contexts associated with the instability of social systems, there are also other examples leading from the Late Hallstatt framework, which can be associated with social conflicts. The occurrence of grave robbery can be mentioned, which in the case of representative burial monuments particularly points to the instability of a political system.

Thus, we know the Late Hallstatt large burial mound at Magdalenenberg from ca. 620 BC, which measures 120 m in diameter and includes 128 secondary burials in addition to the central burials, as a place, where the recourse of the world of the living is represented by a prominent ancestor (Müller 1994; Spindler 1971; 1972). Just this central and richly equipped ancestor tomb was plundered with wooden spades ca. 40 years after its construction. Thus, its relevance was "desecrated" or "depoliticized" with the result that no further secondary burials were undertaken in the large burial mound. The robbery within the doubtlessly former rich grave therefore represents an extreme symbolic destruction not only of the grave but also of the social conditions.

Central European Early Bronze Age: Indications of Rebellions?

A comparative destruction of graves – but on a much larger scale – can be determined for the Southeast-Central European Early Bronze Age. For example, numerous robbery shafts at the large burial grounds of Franzhausen, Gemeinlebarn and Jelsovce are observed, which were used for the systematic removal of obvious valuables (Bertemes 1989; Kümmel 2009; Neugebauer 1991; Spatzier 2007). Even though such robbery shafts are understood in the literature as a ritualized part of the transitional rite to death, graves without corresponding shafts verify that we are actually dealing with profane actions.

In the framework of the mentioned interrelationships, it can be assumed that the robberies were a kind of redistribution of goods and thus the instability of a social system is documented. Unfortunately, we do not know of any settlements in the affected area during the Early Bronze Age in which processes of corresponding changes can be investigated with the necessary exactness. Nevertheless, fire events in Eastern Central European fortified settlements, in contrast to the absence of such events in most of the non-fortified settlements, indicate possible differences in the handling of different social groups (Furmanék/Marková 1999; Jaeger 2016).

In addition, the destruction and thus the demolishment of objects in the ground, especially weapons, do not necessarily have to be interpreted in a ritual sense. Here, too, this could be evidence of violent, inner-social changes, which were not necessarily organized but rather also occurred due to rebellions. A motivation for the hoard finds of the Bronze Age is conceivable, for example, like those, which we experienced at the end of the last century under the motto "swords to ploughshares". For the Early Bronze Age, we could assume, for example, the demolishment of weapons and their ritual deposition in the ground in order to counter an ideology, which manifested itself through warrior ideologies. Associated activities would also have been the expression of social "rebellions" against the established Early Bronze Age social model.

In principle, these various arguments could be combined to a picture of social-historical development, in which the strongly indicated social stratification of Early Bronze Age society led to the Central European Middle Bronze Age as a result of internal social problems, which also included local rebellions. At least in some regions of Central Europe, we recognize processes from about 1600 BC, which display a lower social stratification than had been the case in previous centuries.

Southeastern Late Neolithic: Okolište

In contrast to the described example, various settlement excavations exist from the Southeastern European Neolithic, which enable the reconstruction of even short-term events in villages. Included is the Late Neolithic settlement of Okolište in Bosnia, which was founded around ca. 5200 BC and reveals households that generated apparent different economic and demographic potentials in the course of developments (Arponen et al. 2015; Hofmann 2013; 2015; Müller et al. 2013a; Müller et al. 2013b) (**Fig. 4**). The houses of richer households, which exercised an increasing position of power within the large village, were burned down at about 4900 BC. After this event, much is changed in Okolište: the size of the village, which was originally very large for Neolithic conditions with approximately 3500 inhabitants, is reduced to a "Southeastern European standard size" of 100–200 inhabitants. Furthermore, differences between the households are no longer recognisable and specific functions of Okolište's centrality within the surrounding settlement landscape are similarly indiscernible. In this respect, in the case of Okolište we can assume that we are dealing with an internal rebellion against increasing social differences and increasing differences in resource management.

In the three mentioned examples, the certitudes and incertitudes in the handling and reconstruction of inner social conflicts become apparent. Nevertheless, the processes, for example, at Heuneburg and Okolište can be compared. In both cases, the development of increasing economic potentials of a group of households within the total population leads to internal social conflicts. Whereas a concentration of activities and political power at certain households is recognisable at Neolithic Okolište, at Heuneburg an entire district – separate from the rest of the settlement – exists, in which crafts and political control are concentrated. In both cases, social conflicts lead to a more dispersed settlement pattern and a reduction of social differences within society.

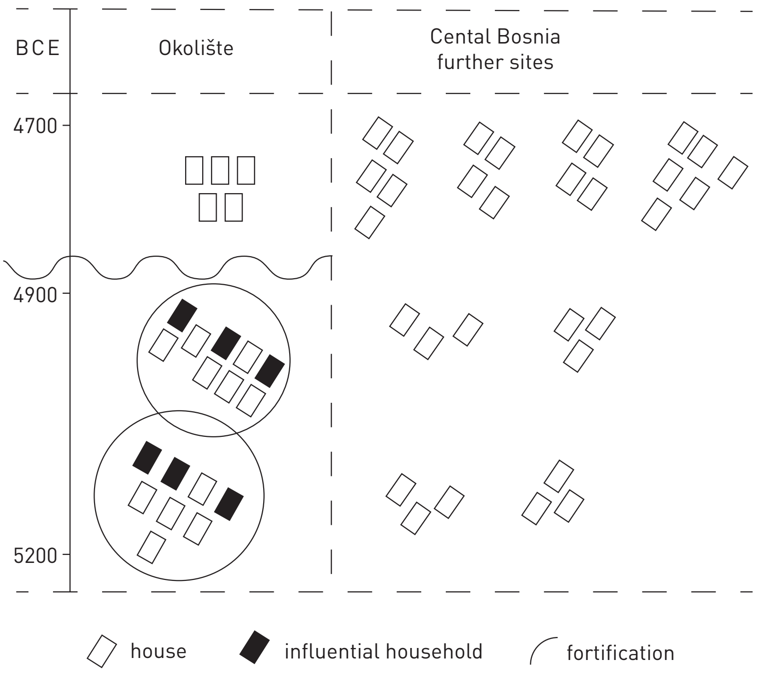

Fig. 4. Social interpretation of Late Neolithic Okolište, Central Bosnia. A huge agglomerated site with many farmsteads develops into a site of farmsteads with social differences (5200–4900 BCE). During this process, the monopolisation of demographic, economic and ritual power in the few households might have triggered an internal rebellion that destroyed the influential "alpha-households". In consequence, the central role of the settlement (expressed e.g. in the fortification of the site) ceases and a dispersed settlement pattern results.

Prospects: Hierarchy and Balance

At the very least, empirical observations show that the development of social hierarchy is obviously discernible in different prehistoric societies, but that a variety of mechanisms arise in connection with the institutionalisation of corresponding power relations, which can again lead to a disintegration or at least a reduction of respective social differences. This is a process, which was also described and documented for non-industrial societies in ethnographical and social anthropological studies (e.g. Gunawan 2000). Even if we recognize rebellions as *one* means for the renewed reduction of social conditions, there are also numerous other known possibilities for the reduction of accrued social power. We recognize conditions, in which, on the one hand, the development of hierarchies and, on the other hand, the balance of social differences as counter developments effect and mould societies. For both, it is vital to acquire archaeological backgrounds more intensively or to interpret known archaeological sources in this way.

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1 INEQUALITY AND REBELLION: THEORETICAL REMARKS

V. P. J. Arponen

THE CAPABILITY APPROACH AND INEQUALITY IN ARCHAEOLOGY

ABSTRACT

From the late 1970s onwards, Amartya Sen's capability approach has been a highly original and truly novel conceptualisation of human welfare in economic theory, philosophy, and beyond, continuing to stimulate debate and research. Yet, despite its far-ranging consequences, for instance, for our conception of inequality, the capability approach has not yet made inroads into archaeology. This paper attempts to introduce the key tenets of the capability approach to archaeological audiences and suggest ways in which archaeology could incorporate and benefit from Sen's insights. The case studies touched upon include the North European Bronze Age (2000–500 BCE) and the Late Neolithic of the Balkans (5200–4600 BCE).

INTRODUCTION

As a non-archaeological commentator to archaeological affairs, I tend to enter the picture during what I think of as the second half of the archaeological game. During the figurative first half, the archaeologists have collected the most various forms of data by the most various means, ranging from excavations to the scientific analysis of samples and also literature reviews. During the second half, we tend to see distinctively more interpretative, and often indeed highly interdisciplinary activity take place as archaeologists mine for analogies, theories, concepts, and the like from a number of disciplines, such as anthropology, social psychology and much else beyond, in an attempt to conceptualise phenomena they find or observe in archaeological investigations. It is in the role of a "substitute" coming in during the second half of the game that I write here about applying the so-called capability approach in archaeology – in particular about the archaeology of social inequality.

The capability approach is a brainchild of the Indian-born economist Sen and has been in continuous discussion and development since the late 1970s (Sen 2010; Nussbaum/Sen 1993; Sen 1980). It remains a widely debated but also widely adopted view forming the groundwork, for instance, of the various indices of human development published by the United Nations Development Program. Sen is an economist but, as he put it recently, he has been having a "love affair with philosophy" for a while (Sen 2010, 269). The capability approach is indeed best understood as a *philosophical* rather than an economic view of the fundamental character of human well-being or welfare. This view of human well-being can have implications with regard to our understanding of inequality in so far as inequality is something that hinders human well-being.

In collaboration with my colleagues, I have taken the first steps in developing the central insights of the capability approach for the purposes of archaeological analysis (Arponen et al. 2016; Arponen in this volume). A chief rationale to engage in the attempt to introduce the capability approach to archaeology resides, in my view, in the following. From the 1970s onwards, the capability approach has introduced a highly original and truly novel conceptualisation of human welfare into economic theory, philosophy, and elsewhere, which continues to stimulate on-going debate and research. As such, the capability approach might well yield valuable contrasts and, therefore, also interpretative lessons for archaeology, particularly concerning the notion of inequality. For a good while now, Sen's insights have constituted a clear and major alternative to certain other conceptualisations of well-being in many contexts outside of archaeology, and it is likely that Sen's insights have clear implications for archaeology as well. In what follows, I want to develop these implications in archaeology. However, as a word of warning to the archaeological reader: necessitated by the attempt to develop an essentially modern approach to the analysis of pre-modern and archaic worlds, the discussion below will often not be of archaeological nature.

THE CAPABILITY APPROACH: THE BASIC MESSAGE

Wherein, then, lies the core of the capability approach's view of the fundamental character of human well-being? Here is a recent articulation of the key point by Sen:

> *"Even though the much used economic criteria of advancement, reflected in a mass of readily produced statistics, have tended to focus specifically on the enhancement of inanimate objects of convenience (for example in the GNP or GDP which have been the focus of a myriad of economic studies of progress), that concentration could be ultimately justified – to the extent it could be – only through what these objects do to the human lives they can directly or indirectly influence"* (Sen 2010, 225).

Sen draws a contrast between access to and possession of inanimate objects of convenience – think of income and money, prestige objects, consumables but also such things as having prestige, reputation, status (more on this below) – and what these objects can do to human lives, i.e., what the possession of these objects might enable or what capabilities they might afford to those who own them. Sen argues that the ultimate measure of the 'criteria of advancement' in human life is not the possession of and access to these *objects as such*, but rather *their implications* with regard to our capabilities to do and be something in life.

Sen notes that the focus in economic and philosophical thought has traditionally been placed upon people's possession of and access to objects of convenience at the expense of not explicitly posing the question about the effects of these havings on people's doings and beings, functionings or capabilities in life (for an excellent, critical comparative look see Cohen 2004). Yet, Sen argues that our analysis of human well-being, and consequently of inequality, justice and the like "cannot be indifferent to the lives that people can actually live" with or without the aid of such objects of convenience (Sen 2010, 18). Sen suggests a strikingly simple, but highly consequential shift in our thinking about human well-being from a focus upon the objects we possess or have access to – our havings – to what we are able to do and to be – our doings and beings, or functionings – whether it is with or without these objects. Taking this perspective involves, as Sen writes elsewhere (2012, 44) "seeing a person in as it were, an 'active' rather than a 'passive' form", that is, as someone who wants to do and be something in life.

Sen fully acknowledges that the possession of objects of convenience, such as having money, or suffering from a lack of it, can be a major factor in someone having or lacking capabilities. Thus, Sen says his view (1999, 87) "does not involve any denial [...] that low income is clearly one of the major causes of poverty [...] income can be a principal reason for a person's capability deprivation". Yet, his point is that money is still only a *means* to an *end*, and the end is one of being endowed with capabilities in life. In other words, Sen builds upon the intuition that it is not havings as such that we desire, but that we desire to be capable to do and to be, and for that purpose havings can be a useful instrument. Therefore, Sen concludes, "poverty must be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as lowness of income" (Sen 1999, 87).

It is thus *not* Sen's argument that the measures, such as income differences or consumption levels, which economists have traditionally used to measure such things as well-being, inequality and the like, ought to be thrown out of the window. Rather, Sen wants us to ask the *further question* that he thinks will take us to the fundamentals regarding human well-being and by implication also of human unwell-being such as inequality: what are the *effects* of things like income or consumption differences with regard to a given individual's or a group's capabilities, opportunities and perspectives that enable us to do and to be in life?

What precisely does Sen mean by capabilities? What does he think people want to do and be in life? Sen writes that "individual advantage is judged in the capability approach by a person's capability to do things he or she has reason to value" (Sen 2010, 231), but Sen does not take a fundamental evaluative position on the question of what people ought to value. One could attempt to fill in that detail by embarking upon a literature review on which forms of doing and being have actually been focused upon in applications of the capability approach (see also Nussbaum 2000). Towards this end, I shall provide some archaeological examples below. These will turn out to involve considerations pertaining to capability deprivation due to enslavement as well as to conditional access to certain critical goods and the critical capability deprivations this might imply (related to food and clothing).

It is worth noting that Sen himself points out that the choices made in "the delineation of the *relevant* functionings" is always an evaluative exercise and must be contextualised or "related to the underlying concerns and values" of the research at hand (Nussbaum/Sen 1993, 32). Sen's contextualism draws from his view of ethical theory as divided in two major camps (Sen 2010, 5). On the one hand, we have *trancendentalism* that Sen argues is the currently dominant camp, seeking to identify the universal, ahistorical or contextless nature of 'the just', 'good' and the like. On the other hand, we have the camp to which Sen himself belongs that we can name *comparativism*, which is chiefly oriented towards comparing existing societies and seeking ways to correct existing injustices. Be that as it may, for the archaeologist, however, Sen's contextualist stance seems welcome for a different reason: it sets the archaeologist free to study the kinds of capability sets that seem most relevant to prehistoric and archaic societies, and not ones stipulated by some transcendentalist modern theory.

Let me note a commonality and a difference between Sen's and the present argument. With Sen, the present paper shares the idea that we ought to study the consequences – with regard to people's capabilities – of whichever measure of well-being (and by implication of inequality) we choose to adopt. Sen's work, however, tends to focus on *income* inequality as the example of a measure that he has criticised and sought to show that it does not sufficiently track capability inequality. By contrast, looking at things from an archaeological perspective I have been interested in how well *rank differences* can track inequality, where inequality is understood as capability deprivation. In the next section, I will illustrate how rank differences have been used as the chief measure of inequality in archaeological literature. The core idea of the present extension of the capability approach to archaeology is this: Sen's critique of using the availability and distribution of 'objects of convenience' as a sole measure of well-being (and inequality) can be extended to examine how rank differences have been the chief measure in archaeology. From the perspective of the capability approach, however, both of these dominant measures do not quite get to the bottom of the matter, namely, to consider the implications of object and rank distributions with regard to the capability sets of the individuals and groups involved.

Sen often argues his point about the need to think about well-being in terms of capabilities by discussing cases in which income differences appear to fail to track human well-being. In one such example, using WHO data from 1994, Sen compares the male African-American survival rate with the same rate for men in China and Kerala, India, noting that already from birth, but more clearly after the age of 35, male African Americans do distinctly worse than their Chinese and Indian counterparts. According to the figures, a good 65 percent of male African Americans make it to the age of 75, while Chinese and Indian men reach figures of almost 75 and over 70 percent, respectively. In the US, white males at 75 reach a survival rate of almost 85 percent. At the same time, Sen observes, "African Americans are of course a great many times richer in income terms than the people of China or Kerala (even after correcting for cost-of-living differences)" (Sen 1980, 387).

Here, Sen provides an example on how income levels do not always track human well-being. Analogous to this example, but modified for our topic of interest, our present investigation will also think of archaeological cases in which rank differences do not track human well-being and capability affordances or deprivation.

In what follows, I will seek to illustrate the archaeological import of the foregoing in more detail. The next section begins by illustrating the critique that the capability approach would seem to give rise to in the archaeology of social inequality.

INEQUALITY IN ARCHAEOLOGY: A CRITIQUE

Our understanding of human well-being will have implications regarding our understanding of inequality, for inequality can be seen as a form of human unwell-being. Let us approach this question specifically in an archaeological context and begin by asking how inequality is understood in archaeology? To answer this question, let us briefly review two prominent archaeological works on the topic.

In their recent book, Kent Flannery and Joyce Marcus tell the following story about the emergence of inequality: "Our Ice Age ancestors typically lived in small foraging societies whose members are believed to have valued generosity, sharing, and altruism […] hunting-and-gathering people usually work actively to prevent inequality from emerging" (Flannery/Marcus 2012, Preface). However, as Flannery and Marcus continued, gradually "larger societies with greater levels of social inequality" would emerge such that "[b]y 2500 B.C., virtually every form of inequality known to mankind had been created somewhere in the world, and truly egalitarian societies were gradually being relegated to places no one else wanted" (Flannery/Marcus 2012, Preface).

Then consider T. Douglas Price and Gary M. Feinman's characterisation of social inequality in their recent collection on the topic: "Social inequality, the organizing principle of hierarchical structure in human society, is manifested in unequal access to goods, information, decision-making, and power. Status is the determinant of social position, and status differentiation is the foundation of inequality" (Price/Feinman 2010, 2).

Let us break down some of the facets of these different views. In both characterisations, inequality is seen as closely connected with *hierarchies*. Hierarchies and status differentiation have an important structuring function in the organization of human social life. In this sense, Price and Feinman describe hierarchy, and by implication inequality, as an *organizing principle* of human society. In his contribution to Price/Feinman (2010), Kenneth A. Ames casts inequality as a necessary feature of human sociality arguing that "human inequality is at least in part due to a pan-Primate order propensity for social differentiation, dominance, and subordination […] inequalities are always present in human societies" (Ames 2010).

We also note that, according to the views under consideration, the emergence of inequality sets off in the prehistoric *transition* from *egalitarian to non-egalitarian* societies. In a fundamental sense, unequal social relations are thus seen as the opposite of egalitarian relations. An implication of this view is that inequality is bound to grow with the emergence of increasingly larger societies, that is, inequality grows with complexity. Following Morton H. Fried's classic definition (in his *Evolution of Political Societies* from 1967), in archaeological and anthropological contexts an egalitarian society is often understood as one in which minimal concentrations of power, dominance, leadership or prestige exist and the distribution of material necessities is even or near even among all members of the group (see Ames 2007, 489).

Now, from Sen's point of view it can be argued that the mere identification of status differences and non-egalitarian social relations, or a lack of them, does not yet touch upon the question of the implications of the former with regard to people's capabilities in the societies and groups at hand. The analysis has therefore not identified inequality in the sense in which Sen suggests we should understand it. This critical point arising from Sen can be broken down into two ideas. First, the analysis of inequality ought to *go beyond* the identification of status differences to the study of (implied) capability deprivations and, second, inequality is ultimately a matter of a *categorically different kind of a concept* from that of havings (of objects of convenience, high/low rank), namely, that of doings and beings or functionings[1].

It could be objected that the identification of hierarchies and status differentiations has nonetheless taken us a long way toward tracking inequalities in Sen's sense. After all, as illustrated by the brief discussion of poverty above, Sen concedes that poverty may be one of the chief causes of capability deprivation. In this sense, one might argue to use Price and Feinman's words quoted above that "status differentiation is the foundation of inequality" just as poverty is a chief cause of capability deprivation. As a counter to this objection, I believe it is possible to identify cases in which hierarchies and status differentiation do not track inequality or, better said, do not track the aspects that *make inequality problematic* for a society. I shall give a modern example and then suggest how a similar structure might manifest itself in prehistoric contexts.

INEQUALITY OF CAPABILITIES: A MODERN EXAMPLE

Recent economic work on inequality, most prominently Thomas Piketty's *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (PIKETTY 2014), has identified an alarming trend of significant wealth concentration in a good number of developed nations. According to the classic conception that views inequality as a problem in the distribution of 'objects of convenience' (such as wealth), Piketty's work has indeed identified grave and growing inequality. However, I believe that Sen would be inclined to argue that to get to the root of the evil we ought to try to form a picture of the capability set reductions involved here.

I have argued in more detail elsewhere (ARPONEN 2016) that, of the time frames that Piketty identifies as periods of decreasing wealth inequality (from about the onset of the Second World War to the 1970s) and increasing wealth inequality (from the 1970s to this day), the second period coincides with what has been called deindustrialization – the decline of the middle classes and job polarization (AUTOR/DORN 2013; AUTOR et al. 2003; LUCE 2012). These are on-going processes affecting, in particular, the Western developed countries leading to massive job losses in the relatively well-paying, mass-employing industrial and other sectors as well as the emergence of polarised income structures with extremely high and extremely low paying jobs with increasingly fewer people taking positions in the middle. Needless to say, all these processes lead to increasing insecurity and a lack of perspectives – that is, a reduction in the capability sets in the lives of an increasing number of Westerners.

The relatively recent emergence, in particular in Europe, of so-called nationalist populism can be directly related to these developments as "[t]he most successful [of these populist] parties have rallied a coalition of economically insecure lower middle-class citizens and skilled and unskilled manual workers" (GOODWIN 2011, x; see also FORD/GOODWIN 2014), that is, precisely those affected by deindustrialization and job polarization. The capability reductions suffered by increasing numbers of Westerners are thus beginning to have a serious and one might say destabilizing effect on the historical process that our European developed societies are going through at the moment. A relationship between these phenomena and the trend identified by Piketty probably exists: deindustrialization and the gradual disappearance of a wide variety of clerical middle-class jobs (think of the rows of bank clerks of the 1980s and 1990s who have given way to online banking) has been attributed to the automatization of work and its outsourcing to the Eastern countries of cheaper labour. Automatization and outsourcing increase the wealth of the capital owners (and this increase was reported by Piketty), while depriving the working masses of jobs, income and ultimately of capabilities in life. Importantly, it is not the existence of social ranking that tracks the capability reductions here, even while there will be significant and growing rank differences between those at the respective ends of the job polarization spectrum. More generally and quite in line with what I take to be the central thrust of the capability approach, one can argue that the problems posed by deindustrialization and job polarisation cannot fully be understood as growth in rank and income differences, but that the problems must be understood in terms of capability deprivations.

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[1] An interesting further implication of closely relating inequality with non-egalitarian social relations is that inequality figures, on the one hand, as a relation between people/groups of different rank, from the powerful and the powerless down to the suppresser and the suppressed and, on the other hand, as an unequal distribution of objects of convenience. Sen's conceptualisation of well-being gives rise to a more complex idea of inequality. Inequality functions as a comparative relation between the access of two or more persons or groups to a single capability set, but often also to entirely different capability sets.

More importantly for present purposes, it can be argued that a perspective like that of the capability approach, focusing on the inequalities of our day, is needed to establish the historical consequential nature of these inequalities. It is this suggestion that I believe ought to also be of interest in archaeology for two reasons. First, taking the perspective of inequality as capability deprivation can help us better understand why inequality-as-capability-deprivation can be a force of historical change relating to unhappiness arising from such capability deprivations. Second, as a methodological note, tying inequality closely with non-egalitarian social relations, as has been customary in the archaeology of inequality, might impede our understanding of what is historically consequential about inequality – namely, not the unequal distribution of objects of convenience *as such*, but the capability deprivations that might be more or less intimately related to the unequal distributions.

Archaeology is, of course, a practical discipline fundamentally interested in the detection of theoretically delineated phenomena, such as capability deprivations, in the archaeological record. What could act as proxies for detecting capability deprivations in the archaeological record? Thinking back to Sen's example of the survival rate differences among certain groups, an obvious indicator of critical capability deprivation are various signs pertaining to the longevity of life such as signs of malnutrition. An excavated graveyard and single graves are important archaeological sources of such material. This might be one of the few archaeological contexts in which archaeology can relatively easily detect those most likely to suffer from capability deprivations – the "ordinary people", so to speak. The traditional association of inequality with rank differences enjoys a distinct methodological advantage here in that highly ranked individuals or groups can easily be "seen" in a number of other aspects of the archaeological record, such as rich burials, architecture, prestige objects, etc. In practice, the detection of capability deprivations will probably be a matter of piecing together a suggestive story using various bits of information rather than identifying the figurative smoking gun itself. For example, signs of social upheaval, migration, decline of settlements, and the like, may be taken to signal human unwell-being and therefore capability deprivations. Yet, such observations must then be further connected to other evidence such as monopolisation of critical goods or the transgressing of environmental thresholds (see ARPONEN et al. 2016 and KRISTIANSEN 2010, respectively, as well as the discussion below).

In what follows, I sharpen these points with regard to the question on how the adoption of the capability perspective might steer the process of archaeological interpretation in novel directions. Basically, I will argue that where the traditional paradigm has seen attention focused on the identification of rank differences, the new approach will steer attention to the detection of break downs and other discrepancies in the division of labour.

CAPABILITY INEQUALITIES AND ARCHAEOLOGY

In our application of the capability approach in archaeology (see Arponen et al. 2016), we made use of a quite particular understanding of capabilities, namely, what we called *critical* capabilities. In our case study of Okolište, a tell site from 5200–4600 BCE situated in Europe in what today is Bosnia-Herzegovina, we identified a number of alpha houses that appeared to have critical monopolies over cereal processing and weaving. We argued that they seem to have been able to use or impose conditional access upon the other houses (and possibly upon communities beyond this dominant settlement) to the critical capabilities that could be gained from access to these products. At the end of the archaeologically investigated time-span, the once dominant settlement had significantly declined in size, a process punctuated by signs of social unrest in the form of burnings of the alpha houses, which our argument connected with unrest arising ultimately from critical capability deprivations.

Compared to the usual emphasis on rank differences in the archaeology of inequality, our approach took a different route and made no explicit use of rank differences at all. In fact, much of the criteria used to identify the alpha houses could possibly be used to argue for the existence of social ranking. Yet, in our argument, the key issue to focus on when trying to explain the decline of Okolište is that not rank as such, but the monopolisation of certain critical goods and therefore the seeming imposition of conditional access to certain critical capabilities was at stake. In other words, in my thinking the people in the settlement did not ultimately object to the rank differences between them and the alpha houses, but to the fact that the alpha houses seem to have been in the position to compromise the access of others to critical goods. Whatever one thinks of the strengths of the archaeological evidence for the story told in this particular case, the logic and the underlying premise deriving from the capability approach is worth explicit mention: capability deprivations, especially those of a critical kind, represent serious hindrances and frustration in human life and are therefore able to cause social upheaval. Mere rank differences can hardly be considered to enrage people such that social upheaval would follow, especially if rank differences do not imply capability deprivations.

Consider in this context the story told by Kristian Kristiansen (Kristiansen 2010) on the developmental arc of Bronze Age Northern Europe from around 2000 BC onwards. The story takes place over a considerable geographical stretch and has "a span of almost 1000 years, or 33 generations" (Kristiansen 2010, 175). The aim is, writes Kristiansen, to "understand how complex power structures operate in a decentralized social and economic environment that lacks many of the attributes of more clear-cut stratified, or complex, societies" (Kristiansen 2010, 169).

As can be expected, over the course of nearly a full millennium and across a significant geographical stretch, power shifts occurred as different dynamics played out at different times and in different places (there "was a period of fierce competition between chiefly lineages, with some consolidation from Period 3 onwards (after 1300 BC)" (Kristiansen 2010, 182). Yet, the structure of a decentralized network of chiefs and clans continued to mark the overall form of social organization.

Following the well-known French theorist Pierre Bourdieu, Kristiansen argues that a decentralized network of power was able to emerge by building upon relations based on gift reciprocation and tribute extraction among the various chiefs and their clans as well as down the social ladder from the chiefs to their commoners. The chiefs' hold on power was "socially and ritually sanctioned" (Kristiansen 2010, 177) as manifested in the gift system as well as the institutions of ritual and warrior chiefs. In Bourdieu's terminology, the power in question is symbolic as it is based on a *felt* obligation, and, when coupled with economic obligations, theorists working with Bourdieu's insights speak of the conversion of symbolic to economic capital (Earle/Kristiansen 2010, 249).

Now, on a more critical note, at no particular point does the exposition of the inequalities in this vast decentralized power network explicitly seek to establish the implications of rank differences with regard to possible capability deprivations and how this might contribute to the overall explanatory endeavour. I would like to suggest that such linkages can be established and in doing so would, in my view, strengthen the analysis.

To begin with, in Kristiansen's story, the decentralized power network appears to have a distinct character of something like a feudal and military dictatorship, if such a description in non-archaeological terms can be allowed here. It is feudal because of the chiefs' ability to extract tribute from the commoners and demand war service and labour, perhaps in exchange for access to herding animals that the chief would own (Kristiansen 2010, 178). This has an air of a military dictatorship, or of multiple dictatorships, in the sense that the monopoly over the capacity to commit violence resides with the chiefs and the clans via their command of warriors and their control of the required gear: somewhere around the onset of the Bronze Age in 2000 BC, "[t]he manufacture of weaponry and wealth […] came under the control of chiefs", as Timothy K. Earle and Kristiansen observed (Earle/Kristiansen 2010, 224). What kind of capabilities or capability deprivations might have existed in such a system?

We have a reason to think that capability deprivations did exist and that they eventually led to the collapse of the Bronze Age chiefdom system. For as Kristiansen writes, at an advanced point in the development of the decentralized power structure "the institution of ritual chiefs and war chiefs […], and other institutions […] ultimately separated chiefs and commoners, and created a large group of enslaved commoners" which "[t]owards the end of the Bronze Age […] had generated the conditions for the collapse of society when its lifeblood – metal supplies – declined and were finally cut completely" (Kristiansen 2010, 179). The idea of enslavement of commoners obviously bears upon capability deprivations. Enslaved persons and their kin probably do not enjoy future perspectives or control over their lives, and even their access to critical goods (such as adequate food and shelter) may be inadequate. In Senian words, the doings and beings or functionings of the enslaved were probably radically limited and conditional to their masters' will.

On the other hand, as we are told, especially the Early Bronze Age involved an expansion of settlement (Kristiansen 2010, 181) and the Middle Bronze Age massive clearances of forests, which in turn could be taken to indicate a society that is thriving and expanding, offering opportunities to those involved from the bottom to the top of the rank. Elsewhere, Earle and Kristian Kristiansen (2010, 227) report intensifying trade involving at least metals, animal products and amber from the Early Bronze Age onwards. The classic economist, Adam Smith, famously proposed that an 'invisible hand' would ensure that the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few would also trickle down to the lower ranks in an automatic process of self-regulation towards equilibrium. Although this idea of an 'invisible hand' has been challenged (more on this below), most would agree that opportunities also increase in periods of increasing economic activity. Therefore, these might have been (although they do not necessarily have to have been) periods during which the chief's and clans' control actually provided the people with significant capabilities related to participation opportunities in the expanding sphere of rule. Moreover, Earle and Kristiansen argue that the spheres of power of "[i]ndividual chiefdoms cycled up and down with changing circumstances", although, "[f]rom time to time, outstanding burials suggest that a successful local chief rose to power over a larger region, but such successes were probably short-lived and institutionally unstable" (Earle/Kristiansen 2010, 248–249). To me, this suggests that the chiefs had better pay attention to the well-being of their enslaved underlings. Otherwise, they probably would risk alienating themselves from their people and consequently be usurped by neighbouring chiefs.

All this goes to show that there is reasonable evidence to pursue a capability-orientated story of the Northern European Bronze Age. This would necessarily require a more detailed engagement with the available archaeological materials than is possible in the present paper.

Ultimately, Kristiansen tells us that the Northern European chiefs' decentralized power network collapsed. Kristiansen (2010) and Earle and Kristiansen (2010) describe the various aspects of this as a process in which the apparent enslavement of the commoners played a role (see the above quoted passage) and as a process which involves collisions with environmental thresholds. Kristiansen (2010, 188) describes it also as "a widespread revolution linked to a new social ideology of collective farmers". Subsequently, he writes that "it is the collective social forces of individuals that create change by inventing or adopting a new more democratic social order in conjunction with new technological and economic practices". It is particularly in this connection that I believe the capability approach can provide a plausible story of the process of the revolution.

As noted above, Kristiansen's theoretical lens is influenced by Bourdieu, and in such a view, the collapse or continuity is fundamentally anchored to the chiefs' ability to maintain symbolic power. As Earle and Kristiansen (2010, 249) quote Bourdieu, "[t]his system", namely, the system of symbolic bonds maintained by a collective belief in obligations and debt, "contains only two ways [by which a local chief can mobilise labour] (and they prove in the end to be just one way) of getting and keeping lasting hold over someone: gifts or debts, the overtly economic obligations of debt, or the 'moral,' 'affective' obligations created and maintained by exchange".

An implication of this way of framing the emergence and survival of a social system is that the collapse of the Northern Bronze Age power network can really only have occurred because the chiefs were no longer able to keep a lasting hold over their underlings by the system of symbolic/economic capital obligations. By contrast, in the perspective of the capability approach, at least as I understand and employ it here (for I wish to lay no claim that Sen would actually agree, nor necessarily disagree, with me here), one might say a chief's inability to continue to maintain his underlings' obligations to him is a *symptom* of something more fundamental, namely, a chief's failure to provide for the underlings' capabilities. A failed society is one that is unable to provide its members with capabilities, with stability, opportunities and perspectives in life. That point of view recapitulates the main thrust of the capability approach, namely, the need to look beyond rank differences (including the symbolic power possibly used to maintain rank) and rather consider the capability deprivations involved in a given case when trying to understand human well-being, unwell-being, social unrest and the like.

In one sense, capability deprivation can be about access to critical goods as in the case of Okolište and the alpha house monopolies of weaving and cereal processing, or in another sense in which enslavement might mean conditional access to these and other critical goods. Capability deprivation can, I think, also be conceived as a problem in one's position in the division of labour in the sense in which modern day deindustrialization and job polarization disenfranchise certain groups. In a similar sense, Early Bronze Age settlement expansion, as reported by Kristiansen (2010, 181), might have offered opportunities and re-enfranchised certain groups. Again, the crossing of certain environmental thresholds, as identified by Kristiansen, would most certainly lead to breakdowns and tensions in the division of labour as well as problems in association with the access to critical goods.

CONCLUSION

It is worth stressing that the present claim is *not* that Kristiansen's archaeological story is unable to accommodate the capability perspective, or that the archaeological story is incompetent, faultily executed or anything like that. As argued at the start of this paper, the capability approach enters the picture during the second, interpretative half of the archaeological game, as does, I believe, Bourdieu's theoretical framework. These frameworks highlight certain processes over others. The capability approach builds upon the philosophical idea that humans are beings fundamentally engaged in functionings, doings and beings, and that our well-being is fundamentally linked to that. When there are hindrances to these functionings, then humans tend to feel unwell in their lives and possibly seek to do something about it. In Bourdieu's picture, by contrast, the human being appears fundamentally, so to speak, as a symbolic being, whose identity and social existence builds upon – and collapses with – collectively shared symbolisms. This is a very important philosophical contrast that can be traced back to such important precursors as Plato's idealism versus Aristotle's particularism and later the kind of critique that Karl Marx's materialism brought forth against Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's idealism. Marx's idea was based on the premise that history's deciding processes take place on the level of materialism – basically on the level that the means of human production are its material basis of existence – while Marx accused Hegelians of the fantasy that history would somehow involve the dialectic movement of the Spirit.

Writing about Marx, Piketty observed that when the first volume of Marx's *Capital* was published in 1867, "[t]he most striking fact of the day was the misery of the industrial proletariat":

> *[...] "Despite the growth of the economy, or perhaps in part because of it, and because, as well, of the vast rural exodus owing to both population growth and increasing agricultural productivity, workers crowded into urban slums. The working day was long, and wages were very low. A new urban misery emerged, more visible, more shocking, and in some respects even more extreme than the rural misery of the Old Regime [...]. The bankruptcy of the existing economic and political system seemed obvious"*
>
> (Piketty 2014, 7–8).

Marx's philosophy famously forecasted the onset of a revolution by the proletariat – in fact, Marx's *Philosophy of History* posited this as a metaphysical inevitability. However, as Piketty went on to say, "Marx's dark prophecy" never came true – except "in the most backward country in Europe, Russia, where the Industrial Revolution had scarcely begun". At the same time, Piketty continued, "the most advanced European countries explored other, social democratic avenues – fortunately for their citizens". And so, "[...]in the last third of the nineteenth century, wages finally began to increase: the improvement in the purchasing power of workers spread everywhere, and this changed the situation radically, even if extreme inequalities persisted and in some respects continued to increase until World War I" (Piketty 2014, 9–10). In a way then, something like Smith's 'invisible hand' did begin to enable the fruits of progress to trickle down the ranks.

Although Piketty's most famous work then went on to tell the story of what Sen would describe as unequal distribution of objects of convenience, namely the distribution of wealth, the story Piketty tells about Marx and the industrial revolution is a story of declining and then growing capabilities and its effects on world history (in Piketty's *Capital in the 21st Century*, there is one passing and a somewhat rejecting reference to Sen; see Piketty 2014, 480). For is Piketty not effectively saying that the "social democratic avenues" that eventually led to increasing wages, and thereby to increasing prospects and decreasing capability deprivation in life for the industrial workers, basically saved 20th century Europe from even more devastating unrest?

It seems beyond doubt to me that Sen provides us with a highly stimulating and original perspective to the the above-mentioned modern cases. Most importantly, his perspective allows us to identify and focus upon the problematic core of inequality and therefore incorporate inequality as a change-making force into our narratives of the past. Archaeologists may or may not be impressed by the capability approach's philosophical insight regarding human well-being, but for archaeology as a practical discipline, stimulating theoretical insight is of most interest when a robust way is developed to connect it with definite aspects of archaeological data. Having hopefully demonstrated the significance and the value of Sen's insight, I hope to subsequently focus efforts on the practical archaeological question and, together with archaeologists, to develop the capability approach for archaeological purposes.

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APPLICATIONS OF BOURDIEU'S CONCEPT OF HABITUS IN A GERMAN-SPEAKING ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT[1]

ABSTRACT

As a prominent contemporary theory of social inequality, Pierre Bourdieu's "habitus" concept is becoming increasingly interesting for archaeological science. This analysis deals with some ambiguities in Bourdieu's concept, which are not deleted in archaeological receptions of the theory, but are, on the contrary, adopted and have consequences in applications. The criticism concerns an understanding of habitus as a sole practice-structuring principle, the reduction of a reception of habitus to a listing of its effects, the fuzzy delineation of different forms of habitus, and habitus from other routines and practices.

INTRODUCTION

"The concept of habitus has already attracted much attention in archaeology, but is not yet widely popular and does not play a proper role in many socio-archaeological discourses" (Schreg et al., 2013, 9; own translation). A recently published overview of the archaeological adaptations of Bourdieu's habitus concept comes to this conclusion. The "proper role", which it should play in archaeological knowledge processes, must be discussed, and since its reception first began with a decade-long delay, which needed to be explained, considerations of the concept are still "in the air". The background of the awakened interest for the habitus concept on the part of archaeology is not least the expectation of being able to interpret emerging social differences in finds beyond hierarchical, assumed elite-related patterns. Thus, an analysis of the explanatory potential of the Bourdieu model is also the outcome of a discourse based on archaeological elite research[2].

Bourdieu's investigations on habitus are embedded in a redefinition of the term "capital". In addition to economic capital, cultural capital in the form of education, cultural goods, and certificates and social capital[3] are included as an updateable network of relationships (Bourdieu 1986). Resulting from these three types of capital, symbolic capital emerges in the form of social recognition. With this conception, Bourdieu freed class theory from the inheritance of using culture and sociality just as epiphenomena of economic capital – conceiving them just as "superstructure"[4]. As variously noticed (and criticized), Bourdieu constructs "the symbolic space of lifestyles homologous to the class structure as a system of opposites" (Gebesmair 2004, 199), which makes efforts of symbolic demarcation into a form of class struggle. In taking contrasting pairs as a basis, there is a similarity with the structuralism of Claude Lévi-Strauss, and somewhat exaggerated one could maintain that this points out that Bourdieu remained a habitual structuralist in spite of all delineation efforts. Thinking in opposites corresponds moreover to the peculiarly competitive trait of his cultural theory.

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[1] I am grateful to the Berlin Excellence Cluster TOPOI for providing me with a fellowship and thus the opportunity to elaborate on this topic and to offer a seminar on the archaeological reception of Bourdieu.

[2] Cf. the contributions in Tobias L. Kienlin and Andreas Zimmermann (2012).

[3] On competing theories about social capital, cf. the contributions in Axel Franzen and Markus Freitag (2007).

[4] The reception of Bourdieu's class theory in German-speaking regions is reflected in the contributions in Klaus Eder (1989a); see also Bourdieu's reply (1989).

In general, Bourdieu's habitus concept is circumscribed, on the one hand, as the intermediary between the objective conditions of life with the respective social position and, on the other hand, an individual way of life. He developed the concept of habitus in an analysis of the writings of the art historian Erwin Panofsky (Bourdieu 1967), who implemented the term to characterize the influence of scholastic thinking on gothic architecture. Habitus is a scholastic term that Panofsky (1951) assumed from Thomas Aquinas, who in turn assumed the term in translation from Aristoteles' '*hexis*'. Beyond this derivation, habitus was also used in German-speaking sociology and philosophy, for example, by Max Weber, Norbert Elias and Edmund Husserl[5] and, assigned to entire cultures, also by Oswald Spengler. Bourdieu, however, refrained from deducing the meaning of theoretical concepts from their earlier usage[6]. Bourdieu's use of the term 'habitus' becomes clear, above all, when one considers against which theoretical position the concept is invoked – namely the structuralism of Lévi-Strauss[7]. Bourdieu remarks retrospectively: "The concept allowed me at that time to break with the structuralist paradigm without falling back into the old philosophy of the subject or consciousness – that of the classical economy and its *homo oeconomicus*"; habitus thus primarily expresses "the rejection of a whole series of alternatives" (Bourdieu 1985, 12). On the one hand, he wanted to avoid the Scylla of a structuralismus that reduces the actors merely to carriers of structures and, on the other hand, the Charybdis of theories of action, which always must presume rationally acting subjects, such as the *homo oeconomicus*, without being able to explain the genesis of these subjects. Habitus denotes something that is socially acquired – a disposition that generates social practice and in the process is largely beyond conscious controllability.

It is a form of knowledge, but an implicit or silent knowledge, which is not available in a reflexive manner and therefore also evades being queried. Bourdieu determines habitus as a "generative principle"; it produces judgments of appropriateness regarding social practice, just as a native speaker can judge the grammaticality of a sentence, even if he is not able to name and explain the underlying rules. In fact, Bourdieu has repeatedly referred to analogies of habitus in connection with generative grammar in the understanding of Noam Chomsky's theory. But the study of habitus as a "*grammaire génératrice de conduits*" ("generative grammar of the patterns of action" (Bourdieu 1967, 159; see also Bourdieu 1990b, 9) is problematic, because both are located at different levels. For clarification, two parameters are introduced, which are central to structural sociology and the corresponding methodology of objective hermeneutics[8]. The *first parameter* (or option parameter) consists of the meaning-generating rules that constitute "objective possibilities"[9] of connections in an action or interaction sequence. This can be illustrated by the elementary example of greeting[10]. Two subjects, A and B, meet. A greets B. B has exactly two options. He can either return the greeting or he can refuse to return the greeting[11]. The meaning of the objective possibility, for which B decides, is rule-constituted from the outset; B chooses a meaning, but he does not create any meaning. The greeting example also illustrates the difference between rules, which generate objective possibilities, and norms: While the refusal to return a greeting is a well-formed action in the sense of the rule constituting it, at the same time it represents an infringement of valid norms that impose the reciprocality of a greeting[12]. The *second parameter* (or selection parameter) denotes, in contrast, the (individual or collective) decision-making or action entity, which selects one possibility from the objective possibilities in a given situation and converts it into action or speech. In the sequence of such decisions, the respective "law of the case-structure" ("*Fallstrukturgesetzlichkeit*") of the action entity is configured. The first parameter is the condition of the possibility of the practice, which the second parameter actually performs. The first parameter encompasses the epistemic equipment, the second the autonomous subject, who is able to act. The rules of the generative grammar lie at the level of the option parameters as the enabling condition of verbal communication and practice; habitus as a prominent example of the *Fallstrukturgesetzlichkeit* of a concrete historically-situated acting instance at the level of the selection parameter. In this respect, Bourdieu's mention of habitus as a "generative principle" should be differentiated, since it produces judgements of appropriateness, but not of the judged and rule-constituted, which must always be presupposed[13]. Bourdieu tends to level this difference and is inclined to "interpret rules exclusively as an imposition, to essentially interpret them theoretically in terms of dominance" (Allert 1999, 173; own translation). Moreover, the lack of distinction between the two parameters results in a projection of strategic action of actors on the social-constitutive rules, as made apparent in an engagement with Lévi-Strauss, since Bourdieu replaces "rules" with "strategies"[14]. In this way, he throws the baby out with the bathwater, then the legitimate intention of supplementing the structures of structuralismus with the dimension of an actor leads to a misleading identification of his habitus with just these structures, whereby the rules that justify human sociality are disclaimed as a condition of the possibility of practice[15].

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[5] Christian Schneickert (2013) has worked out the meaning of Husserl's habitus concept for Bourdieu.

[6] "It is for this reason that I never felt the urge to retrace the genealogy of the concepts I have coined or reactivated, like those of habitus, field, or symbolic capital. Not having been born of theoretical parthenogenesis, these concepts do not gain much by being resituated vis-à-vis previous usages" (Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, 161). Nevertheless, he recognizes associations with those who previously used this term: "It seems to me in fact that in all cases those who used the word habitus were inspired by a theoretical intention not far removed from mine which was: to get out from under the philosophy of consciousness without doing away with the agent, in its truth of a practical operator of object constructions" (Bourdieu 1985, 14).

[7] The elimination of the dimension of practice by Lévi-Strauss is, on the one hand, correctly observed but, on the other hand, wrongly criticized, inasmuch as he is accused of not explaining something which he did not intend to explain: his central work on the subject is titled *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (Lévi-Strauss 1969) and not *The Elementary Practice Forms of Kinship*.

[8] In more detail see Ulrich Oevermann (2000, 64–68).

FOUR DIFFICULTIES OF THE APPLICATION OF THE HABITUS CONCEPT FOR OBJECTS OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Habitus as the sole practice-structuring principle

A fundamental difficulty of Boudieu's concept of habitus and its adaptations is that habitus is understood as the only principle that structures action and social practice. Bourdieu suggested this in an often cited phrase that speaks of habitus as "the unifying, generative principle of *all* practices" (Bourdieu 1984,

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[9] On the concept of "objective possibilities" cf. Weber (1988); Oevermann (2000, 69–70).

[10] The logic of a greeting is extensively analysed in Oevermann (1983), but without the explicit distinction between both parameters.

[11] Of course, some variants of this behaviour can be distinguished. In the case of a refusal to return the greeting, B could pretend that he had not noticed the greeting of A.

[12] On the difference between rules and norms see Oevermann's (2003) basic analysis.

[13] See also Tilman Allert (1999, 176); Hans-Josef Wagner (2003, 216–217).

[14] "I replaced the rules of kinship with matrimonial strategies" (Bourdieu 1990b, 9).

[15] See Wagner (2003, 207); on Bourdieu's reduction of sociality to the calculated practices of exchange, see also the criticism of Robert Bernbeck (2009).

173; emphasis by the author, M.J.). It originates from a large-scale investigation *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Bourdieu 1984), which attempted to show that the different manifestations of the cultural judgment of taste and the social practices based on them are hierarchically ordered and thus produce and perpetuate social inequality. The capability to arrive at such judgments of taste is acquired in the course of socialization by habitualization of that which is accepted as normal and adequate in the respective milieu of origin. The totality claim as articulated in the speech on the "the unifying generative principle of all practices", however, stands in contrast to other texts by Bourdieu, in which the scope of habitus is relativized and differentiated. The existence of other "generative principles", even if they are more regarded as exceptions, is roughly taken into account by the following statements: "Habitus is a generative principle of practices, among others, and although it is more frequently used than others – 'we are', according to Leibniz, 'in about three-fourths of our actions certainly robots' –, it cannot be ruled out under certain circumstances that, for example, conscious and rational calculations take its place" (Bourdieu 1989, 397; own translation).

Habitus is also open to experience and is thus alterable: "Habitus is not the fate that some people read into it. Being the product of history, it is an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them" (Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, 133).

Finally, it is fundamentally possible for the acting subject to act against what habitus actually demands: "This being said, one can utilize such analyses precisely to step back and gain distance from dispositions. The Stoics used to say that what depends upon us is not the first move but only the second one. It is difficult to control the first inclination of habitus, but reflexive analysis, which teaches us that we are the ones who endow the situation with part of the potency it has over us, allows us to alter our perception of the situation and thereby our reaction to it" (Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, 136).

As can be seen, there are definitely passages in Bourdieu's oeuvre, which limit the claim that habitus structures praxis in its totality. However, they are sporadic and they are not found where they need to be in order to avoid the misunderstanding that practice is exclusively habitus-generated. The existence of other principles is indeed conceded, but Bourdieu points only to conscious and rational calculations as an alternative[16].

If one takes the reference to Leibniz literally, according to which human action consists of three-quarters of unconscious and pre-reflexive automatisms, then the collapse of these automatisms with habitus is implied and, conversely, the consciousness of the other principles of action. Thus, Bourdieu conjures away all other important forms of knowledge, which – first and foremost – need to be classified according to their similarities with and differences to habitus. Some of these forms of knowledge are, arranged according to criteria of decreasing consciousness, denoted as follows: rational calculations, opinions and ideologies, interpretive patterns, rule-based knowledge (concerning, for example, the rules of grammar or that of logical deduction) and, of course, the dynamic unconsciousness[17].

Interpretive patterns, for example, belong like forms of habitus, on the one hand, to the pre-reflexive forms of knowledge without, on the other hand, being subject to displacement resistance like unconscious perception. Whereas habitus is closely intertwined with ontogenetic development, interpretive patterns operate like implicit theories. They can be assigned with propositional content in contrast to the "setness" of habitus. The validity of interpretive patterns is assured by a communitized collectivity, for example, a milieu. Therefore, interpretive patterns have the character of shared beliefs. It follows, on the one hand, that persons with the same habitus do not have to coincide with respect to other forms of knowledge[18] and, on the other hand, that these different forms of knowledge can unexpectedly be found within one individual or can come into conflict[19].

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[16] Thus, in the following quotation: "Notions that I developed gradually, such as the notion of habitus, came from the desire to recall that beside the express, explicit norm or the rational calculation, there are other principles that generate practices" (Bourdieu 1990c, 76).

[17] See in detail Oevermann (2001, 39–51). On the distinction between habitus and mentality see Egon Flaig (2004).

For archaeologists, Bourdieu's (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* is of increasing interest because this study addresses manifestations of habitus in material culture, which makes a transfer of this to archaeological findings attractive. If, however, habitus is essentially pre-reflexive and is thus not represented in the consciousness of the actors – "the most effective distinction strategies are those which underlie the practical, pre-reflexive, quasi-instinctive options of habitus" (Bourdieu 1989, 405; own translation) – then it cannot be surveyed with standardized instruments, such as questionnaires, but must be reconstructed from suitable material, for example, narrative interviews or protocols of practice. Bourdieu's *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* is, however, essentially based on a standardized survey, which focuses on consumption decisions, above all on those that concern the consumption of cultural goods. Only a weak leftover of habitus is manifested in these decisions, because many other forms of knowledge which steer actions, such as those mentioned by way of example above, are involved[20]. Evolving downright to a slogan was the discussion on "characteristics of social distinction", and in the reception it is taken for granted that these characteristics are *per se* an outcome of habitus. Bourdieu was interested, as the German translation of the title ("Die *feinen* Unterschiede") aptly conveys, in those differences, whose subtle scaling could not be explained by actions carried out due to planned consciousness, but rather by – in Bourdieu's wording – "socially produced instinct" (Bourdieu 2008, 158). Whether these "subtle" differences can be represented by means of standardized survey and evaluation techniques can be justifiably doubted[21].

The somewhat rather unfortunate text passage, in which Bourdieu designates habitus as the sole practice-structuring principle, is directly referred to in a study by Jochem Pfrommer, who attempts to reconstruct expressive forms of habitus from material culture of the Reformation period (Pfrommer 2009). He adopts a scheme from Bourdieu, explaining the mode of operation of habitus with some significant modifications. When, on the one hand, in Bourdieu's scheme (Bourdieu 1984, 171 fig. 8) habitus is generally denoted as "a structured and structuring structure", which at least leaves open whether habitus is to be understood as the only such structure, in Pfrommer (2009, 343 fig. 1), on the other hand, the formulation is presented that "habitus is a unifying generative principle of the forms of practice"(own translation). Whereas Bourdieu summarizes life style as "a system of classified and classifying practices, i.e. distinctive signs ('tastes')", Pfrommer specifies it as "the totality of constitutive forms of practice of an actor or a social group"(own translation). In both cases, specifications follow, which certainly can be justified in reference passages of Bourdieu's works, but which he just does not examine in the above-mentioned scheme. In other words, Pfrommer transforms the latent rigidity of Bourdieu's concept into a manifest one. Thus, a historical totality, whose components exhibit a structural affinity, appears as an exclusively habitus-derived totality.

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[18] For this constellation, see the example by Oevermann (2001, 48–49) on canoeists, who differ in terms of their habitus in spite of identical patterns of interpretation ("*Deutungsmuster*"). The fact that different forms of habitus, patterns of interpretation, opinions and ideologies can have a common denominator can be observed in the constitution of social movements. Observe the history of the establishment of the German Green Party (Hoffmann 1998; Mende 2011), whereby representatives of undogmatic leftists, anthroposophists, environmental and peace activists, esoterists, ecologically-versed conservatives, members of K-groups and more came together, among which the specific "green" contents were obviously based on different knowledge levels – from habitus to ideology.

[19] Cf. as an example the amalgamation of the habitual and the ideological in an interview with a university president (Münte/Franzmann 2007).

[20] Considering the results obtained on its basis, the reading of the questionnaire (Bourdieu 1984, 512–517) provided in the annex does evoke some inconvenience. This also applies to a questionnaire of a subsequent, well-known German investigation: Gerhard Schulze's "*Erlebnisgesellschaft*" ("Experience Society", Schulze 1992, 591–617), which attempts to verify for German society – in contrast to French society – that there is no hierarchy but rather a plurality of largely freely selectable life styles. Here, it also stands to reason that this conclusion is an artefact owed to the mode of data collection and evaluation based on (cultural) consumption. Sighard Neckel commented pointedly on Schulze's results, stating that he creates a "sociology of culture about people who spend money, but do not have to earn any. Therefore, they can choose their experiences, but they do not need to endure any" (Neckel 1998, 211; own translation).

[21] For this, see the criticism of the Bourdieu correspondence analyses in Jörg Blasius/Joachim Winkler (1989).

As an example, Pfrommer cites a jug with a picture puzzle, which – depending on how it is viewed – shows either the pope or the devil (Pfrommer 2009, 347 fig. 2). In this case, this certainly does not concern a subtle distinctive characteristic, but a representation with an ostentatious emblematic function, which, even if it is central for identification and distinction, is rather to be qualified as ideological. This applies *ceteris paribus* to other objects employed by Pfrommer as habitus manifestations: walls in Reutlingen inscribed with texts of the Luther Bible, a stove tile with the depiction of a crucifixion, on which the devil wears a monastic habit, and a coin from Constance – a so-called "*Reformation thaler*". Without question, these objects are to be interpreted as elements of a specific "protestant classification system" (Pfrommer 2009, 349; own translation), but they are not *per se* the expression of a habitus. Pfrommer summarizes: "Many depictions exhibit motifs, which are primarily to be understood against the background of a universal, Christian-influenced cultural matrix. On a general scale, they show a clear connection between material culture and religious disposition, but appear in particular to be less suitable as a sign of distinction or identification in order to materially specify a change of beliefs" (Pfrommer 2009, 351; own translation).

From this certainly appropriate assessment, it would only be a small step towards a questioning of the totality claim of habitus, although Pfrommer tends to reformulate this conceptual difficulty as a source-critical one (Pfrommer 2009, 351).

Reduction of habitus to a list of its effects

A further point of criticism lies in the fact that the explication of habitus in Bourdieu as a generative principle is often reduced to a list of its effects, whereby habitus is admittedly used as a generative principle, but without actually mentioning it *as* a formula. Jacques Bouveresse noted, therefore, that Bourdieu's explanations "always had the unpleasant aftertaste of explanation by *virtus dormitiva*" (Bouveresse 1993, 55; own translation). Against this background, one could formulate the demand according to the thrift rule to act in archaeological contexts of habitus only if they are materially determined and secondly if they can be verified in their material manifestations. This explication deficit can also be found, for example, in Ariane Ballmer's attempt to gain praxis-theoretical access to the phenomenon of Bronze Age depositions (Ballmer 2010). From this she hopes for an expanded understanding in contrast to traditional approaches, which, if they transcend the purely antiquarian level, were confined to fathoming the "motivation" behind the depositions, which were primarily "read from the objects" (Ballmer 2010, 121; own translation). In contrast, the "landscape as a structuring entity" (Ballmer 2010, 122; own translation) is to be examined. The theoretical impulse behind Ballmer's arguments is directed against the inadequacies of action theories, which particularly play a prominent role in Anglo-Saxon theoretical discussions, to which Ballmer refers. As based on an already constituted subject, capable of speech and action and the rational pursuit of his interests, action theories could not adequately grasp the prevailing sphere of sociality, in which these subjects are even socialized in the first place, which results in the fact that sociality is ultimately reduced to the coordination performance of subjects. As mentioned above, it was Bourdieu's intention to formulate a theory, which both satisfies the structure and the actors, while, on the one hand, avoiding the one-sidedness of structuralism and, on the other hand, theories of action. Applied to Bronze Age depositions, this means to augment the question on the motives of the individual, who deposits artefacts, at least with the question about the embeddedness of this action in social practice.

Ballmer also uses two schemes, one of which (Ballmer 2010, 122 fig. 1) represents Bourdieu's theory with the reciprocal interdependence relationship of 'structure', 'habitus', and 'practice', whereas the other (Ballmer 2010, 122 fig. 2) illustrates the modifications which are required for an application concerning depositions. The second scheme equates 'structure' with 'worldview', a 'conceived world' whose 'physical representative' is the 'landscape'. While, on the one hand, the relationship of the conceived world and landscape is at least one-sided, on the other hand, the conceived world could also be understood as a function of the landscape in the sense of the ecological conditions[22], which enable it to exist. Secondly and more serious, 'structure' appears here as a substitute for something arbitrary, as long as it is somehow structured. 'Structure', according to Bourdieu, involves the network of social positions, the normativities that accompany them and the institutions that reshape them, whereas 'worldview' as a form of knowledge would rather be analogous to habitus. Ballmer illustrates her modifications of Bourdieu's approach by means of an ethnographical case study on the deposition actions of the semi-nomadic Chanten of Western Siberia (Jordan 2003). In this context, she describes the cosmology of the Chanten in their interrelationship with the landscape as well as the implications thereof for deposition actions, but the question of the *meaning* of depositions and the deposited objects in this context is strangely disregarded. The same applies to habitus, mediating between cosmology and the praxis of deposition, whose concrete character as a generative principle remains unclear. Beyond the postulate of the interdependence between structure, habitus and praxis for Bronze Age deposition actions, the elements of this system of action are not supplied with any content so that the occupation with the habitus concept resembles a mathematical equation that is transformed but not resolved. The importance of the objects and actions is overlooked between the wrong alternatives – "spontaneous random actions" (Ballmer 2010, 124; own translation) versus habitus-generated action.

The same applies to Sophie Bartholdy's study (2010), which addresses the "Neolithic habitus" as manifested in Linear Band Ware (LBK) statuettes. She explicitly formulates the problem:

"Nevertheless, the question arises as to how the concept of the Neolithic habitus is defined in terms of content and why the concept of habitus has been extended by the term 'Neolithic'. [...] In essence, the results of this study would be tautological, if they merely led to the conclusion that social structures, which can be denoted as habitus, also developed during the LBK and that the statuettes are also a part of them" (Bartholdy 2010, 67; own translation).

In spite of this, one does not find a definition of habitus in her work beyond this tautology, although it is postulated that "the production and the task of statuette fabrication are connected with social processes of the formation or dissolution of identity" (Bartholdy 2010, 69), but the specific quality of Neolithic habitus is not described in comparison to other habitus forms. The indistinct delimitation of habitus forms, however, refers to a problem unsolved by Bourdieu himself, which leads here to the next point of criticism.

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[22] Maurice Godelier (1992, 51–57) has exemplarily shown how the perception of the same landscape is different between hunting and collecting Mbuti pygmies, on the one hand, and Bantu, who conduct slash-and-burn land clearance on the other hand. Compare the different connotations of trees and forests among the Iroquois put forth by Christian Meyer: "Although trees were highly culturally connoted, forests stood for wildness and anarchy. The expression 'talk in the bushes', for example, meant to converse informally and privately in contrast to consultations with the village council (Fenton 1985a, 10). Informal negotiations were carried out 'in the bushes' – this expression was used both in an affirmative and critical manner (Fenton 1985b, 116). A clearing and the village stood for order. Chieftans, who strayed from the right path, were regarded as being 'strayed in the forest'" (Meyer 2005, 85; own translation).

Indistinct delimitation of different habitus forms

Firstly, there is an *epoch-specific* habitus as formulated by Bourdieu due to his engagement with Panofsky (cf. Schumacher 2013). Epochs form historical totalities and their elements are connected with each other by a "structural affinity" (Bourdieu 1967, 135; own translation)[23]. The uniting tie is the respective epoch habitus. In the context of a reformulation of class theory and connected to a partial adoption of and redefinition of its terminology, *class habitus* plays, on the one hand, an important role in Bourdieu's work[24]. Klaus Eder detects a threefold refraction of class theory by the study of the *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*.

> *"It first breaks with the division of base and superstructure in the analysis of class; secondly, it integrates the analysis of class action in a theory of class-specific cultural practices; and thirdly it analyses the theoretical description of class structure itself as a moment of this class structure"*
> (Eder 1989b, 15; own translation).

In the course of a liberation from the legacy of consciousness philosophy, class habitus substitutes traditional class consciousness (Eder 2013). Whereas an epoch habitus differs from that of a previous epoch, a class habitus mandatorily presupposes the simultaneous and antagonistic habitus of another class. In the one case, the distinction is diachronic, in the other synchronic. But how is the relationship between habitus forms to be understood? Can differences of class habitus be viewed within an epoch habitus or are these replaced by a plurality of class habitus? Which habitus forms exist beyond this? How can scientific habitus (Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, 161) and general habitus forms of professionalized action, which are not socialized in certain classes and milieus but in the course of vocational training[25], for example, be compared with epoch and class habitus? Lastly, how is the relationship of the habitus of an individual to be considered within the embedding epoch, class or group habitus forms[26]?

These ambiguities are also virulent in the works of Bartholdy, in which habitus, on the one hand, is used for an explanation of the striking homogeneity of material culture in the LBK and, on the other hand, as a mechanism of delineation. But delineation of what? Obviously, for a determination of the delineation of the LBK, a diachronic perspective is taken instead of a synchronic perspective; the Neolithic habitus would then be differentiated from a hypothetical Mesolithic habitus. Accordingly, Bartholdy would have to rely on epoch habitus. Instead, she refers to the concept of "class habitus" (Bartholdy 2010, 10; own translation) to explain the Neolithic habitus in recourse to an introduction by Beate Krais and Gunter Gebauer (2002), which implies the existence of other contemporaneous forms of habitus, for a class that simultaneously constitutes the totality of society would be impossible by virtue of definition. And even if one assumed a hypothetical simultaneity of "LBK ceramists" and persons following a Mesolithic way of life, it would be necessary to adopt markedly presuppositional assumptions so that a class-relation can be postulated between them in Bourdieu's sense as the unequal distribution of economic, cultural and social capital. Whether the concept of habitus is suitable to approach the rather implied (Bartholdy 2010, 37–38) phenomenon of the simultaneity of the LBK classified as the "oldest" and that of the "older" (Flomborn), would have to be proven and not presupposed, and it would also be necessary to reconstruct both forms of habitus, which, in addition to a list of the characteristics of the material culture, also mentions the respective generative principles. For the fulfilment of the claim in the flap text of the book to "investigate" Bourdieu's theory for archaeological material, it would represent a minimal condition that this material would indeed have a potential falsificatory meaning, which is, of course, illusory. This claim is also an index of carelessness as to the scale of problems associated with the application of sociological theories to objects of archaeology.

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[23] In this text, Bourdieu mentions the existence of the habitus of classes, on the one hand, and the society, which transcends them, on the other hand, without further discussing their similarities and differences: "This objective intention, which is never limited to the conscious intention of the artist, is a function of thought, perception and behaviour patterns, which the artist owes to his belonging to a certain society or class" (Bourdieu 1967, 162; own translation).

[24] See above the discussion on the re-definition of the concept of capital.

[25] On this desideratum in Bourdieu cf. Allert (1999, 175); Wagner (2003, 226); on habitus of professionalized behaviour cf. Oevermann (1996); in particular on the genesis of scientific habitus cf. Andreas Franzmann (2012).

[26] Bourdieu expresses this as follows: "The principle of the differences between individual habitus lies in the singularity of their social trajectories, to which there correspond series of chronologically ordered determinations that are mutually irreducible to one another. The *habitus* which, at every moment, structures new experiences in accordance with the structures produced by past experiences, which are modified by the new experiences within the limits defined by their power of selection, brings about a unique integration, dominated by the earliest experiences, of the experiences statistically common to members of the same class" (Bourdieu 1990a, 60).

This carelessness is also portrayed in the following rhetorical trick with which Jennifer Bagley outplays this problem in her investigation on iconic practice in the Early Laténe period (Bagley 2014): "As physical material representations of social praxis, habitus, and cultural and economic capital, images are a sociological relevant source, which are also accessible to archaeologists" (Bagley 2014, 27). Both sub-sentences could be affirmed individually: "Images are sociological relevant sources, which are also accessible to archaeologists" is unproblematic, whereas "images are materially comprehensible representations of social practice, habitus and cultural and economic capital" is only confirmable with restrictions, because this must not necessarily be the case. In combination, these sub-sentences arouse the impression of congruity, but their propositional content is incorrect, for even if "images are a sociologically relevant source, which is also accessible to archaeologists", they are not confirmable as "materially comprehensible representations of social practice, habitus and cultural and economic capital" – in any case not automatically. Here, something is suggested with rhetoric, which would have to be solved with arguments.

Habitus and habit

Finally, the last point is the tendency to denote any habit, disposition, or action routine in the archaeological reception of the habitus concept as habitual. Bourdieu expressly refrained from this identification: "I said habitus so as *not* to say habit" (Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, 122; emphasis also in the original, M.J.). Elsewhere, he mentions that with 'habitus' he "wished to put forward the 'creative', active, and inventive capacities" (Bourdieu 1985, 13). This tendency is particularly found in studies in which the production of artisan products is focused on, for example, in Michael Dietler's and Ingrid Herbich's study on the link between material culture and demarcation (Dietler/Herbich 1998) or in Barbara Dammers' reflections on the production of Neolithic ceramics (Dammers 2009). However, routines of action must not necessarily correspond to habitus, but also to other forms of knowledge. Bearing in mind the sources, Dammers comes to the conclusion that "our application of the habitus concept is comparatively simple and unelegant" (Dammers 2009, 94; own translation), what must not lead us to question its application in total. Rainer Schreg et al. express themselves in a similarly optimistic fashion: "The reconstruction of habitus schemata is only possible in merely very rough outlines due to the only very fragmentarily identifiable relics of actions" (Schreg et al. 2013, 105; own translation).

CONCLUSION

The four mentioned difficulties in an application of the concept of habitus to archaeological objects can be reformulated as questions, which would be heuristically posed to the archaeological material:

1) Is it possible to verify that the phenomena of interest are actually expressions of habitus and not some other form of knowledge?
2) Can habitus be defined as a "generative principle" beyond a mere enumeration of it effects?
3) Can the range of scope of the respective habitus and thus its quality be distinguished from other forms of habitus?
4) Can a habitus be distinguished from a mere habit or other action routines?

Only if these four questions can be answered with "yes" is the concept, which requires a comparatively differentiated source situation, suitable for an application to the material.

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PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS OF HOW TO THINK REVOLUTIONS

“Die Revolution ist kein Deckensticken”
(“Revolution is no quilting bee”)
(Mao)

ABSTRACT

The present article distinguishes four distinctive perspectives on revolutions: history, revolutionary doctrines, spectators, and phenomenology (section 1). Moreover, it combines these four perspectives with crucial topics within any theoretical approach to revolutions (section 2). Under this analytic approach, Marxism deserves a second look (section 3). An excursus is devoted to Alain Badiou’s idea of revolutionary eventfulness. The fourth section transforms Hannah Arendt’s concept of revolutionary institutions into a concept of deliberative democracy. The final section concludes.

INTRODUCTION

There is a new discourse about revolution to which intellectuals, such as Giorgio Agamben, Badiou, Slavoj Žižek, Chantal Mouffe, and Étienne Balibar, contribute (see overview in Grosser 2013). These authors suggest a forthcoming period of increased political struggles against established powers and a struggle for hegemony (in a Gramscian sense). In the academic arena, the paradigm of reformist political liberalism with its philosophical representatives, including John Rawls (1971) and Jürgen Habermas (1992), is said to be outdated (Grosser 2013). Thus, revolutionary thoughts are back in academia and might even reappear, as some would add, on the political agenda.

If one has a background in critical theory, one faces an alternative *vis-á-vis* such discourses about revolution. On the one hand, one could easily join the revolutionary camp, supplementing the new discourse with “classical” articles from Max Horkheimer (1937), Walter Benjamin (1921; 1940), and Herbert Marcuse (1967; 1969). On the other hand, one could adopt a *general critical attitude,* which is constitutive for critical theory (see Horkheimer 1937), and apply this attitude to the recent and contemporary discourse about revolution. This attitude is critical, reflective and nonconformist. In this article, I adopt such an attitude.

This critical approach wishes to resolve a deep ambiguity within many theories of revolution. On the one hand, revolutions have to been taken as historical episodes, while, on the other hand, they are perceived as events that *should* occur, be promoted, ignited and “made”. This ambiguity is clearly an instance of the fact-value-distinction within the historical social sciences. As Max Weber would have argued (Weber 1904; 1917), it is possible to analyse, understand and explain real revolutions and related doctrines historically and sociologically without adopting the value-laden claims of the revolutionaries. Following Weber and John Dunn (1990), I propose to draw a sharp distinction between the historical analysis and the “appraisals of the desirability” (Dunn 1990, 88) of revolutions. Such desirability must be argued for on political, and, as some would like to add, on moral and ethical grounds. Thus, a critical theory of revolution should not naively adopt the beliefs of the revolutionaries themselves.

The subsequent contribution is organized here as follows: First, I wish to systematically outline how perspectives and topics form a matrix of revolutionary thought. Second, I take a critical look at Marxism, being the paradigm theory of revolution. In an excursus, I take a look at Badiou's philosophy of "revolutionary eventfulness" (Badiou 2005). Third, I analyze the famous political suggestion presented by Arendt (1963) to give revolutionary "soviets" a prominent role in a political constitution. Fourth, I draw some conclusions delineating the "coming out" of a critical counter-revolutionary.

CONSTRUING A MATRIX OF REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT

Perspectives

To historical science, revolutions are usually defined as events by which powerful and established political institutions are attacked by intransigent opponents in order to replace them by a new constitution. Proponents and opponents of revolutions are *ipso facto* political enemies because they sharply disagree on the constitutional order in which they wish to live in. Thus, revolutions are harsh and rigid political conflicts. Under the old powers, revolutionaries are usually treated as criminals and terrorists. This is why historians and political scientists have grouped revolutions together with other kinds of harsh and often violent conflicts such as civil wars or secessions. Neither violence nor success are strictly involved in this preliminary historical notion of revolution. Thus, peaceful revolutions can, in principle, occur even if most historical revolutions might have been performed by means of violence. A peaceful revolution, then, is not a contradiction in terms. Despite this conceptual remark, it remains fair to say that revolutions are always close to violence and, therefore, proponents of revolutions ("revolutionaries") cannot shy away completely from the risks of violent conflicts, including counter-revolutionary repression and victimization of groups who wish to stay neutral. There is some likeliness that violence will occur within the course of a revolution. Violence is not essential to revolutions, but it comes as no surprise. Thus, it is anticipated.

This preliminary notion also allows for the possibility that a revolution may fail, whatever may count as failure. On purely conceptual grounds, there can be non-violent, but successful revolutions as well as failed, violent ones. Of course, revolution can be successful in one respect, but fail on other grounds. Revolutions can successfully destroy an old political order, but may fail to establish a new order, which is morally and politically superior. Some scholars may even say that this, precisely, is the fate of revolutions, since "crashing the old" is far easier than "rebuilding the new". But assumptions about essential fates of revolutions are not part of a historical concept of revolution. Historians might, however, point at the regularity that revolutionary coalitions generally agree to smash the old order, but come into sharp disagreement about a new one.

This historical definition clearly has fuzzy borderlines to related or similar events, such as rebellions, riots, wars, civil wars, upheavals, and secessions, which I feel unable to determine sharply. Most crucial historical concepts are fuzzy and contested. Even revolutionaries have affirmed such fuzziness. To Michail Bakunin (1972), a revolution was a general riot or rebellion. Rosa Luxemburg emphasized the nexus between war and revolution (see Basso 1969). Lelio Basso also reconstructs the famous controversy between Luxemburg and Wladimir I. Lenin. To Luxemburg, the connection between revolution and war might be stronger than the connection between revolution and economic crisis, but a combination of war, crisis, and intensified class struggle could bring about revolutionary situations. Soldiers, then, might take the lead in a revolution as they did in 1918. As a long war might constitute a revolutionary situation, a revolution might bring war to an end.

Compared to warfare, the risks of revolutions are more likely to be perceived as being acceptable in specific situations. In the autumn of 1918, navy soldiers found it less risky to revolt against German military authorities than to fight a final battle against the British navy. If such contested points about "perception" are made, the historical perspective shifts toward a more phenomenological one. We will be more specific about phenomenologies of revolution below.

A historical (and sober) notion of revolution does not entail the speculative idea that a revolution may split the history of humankind into two periods of time, creating "radical" novelty. A historical concept of revolution must not rest upon such "eschatological" beliefs. Assumptions that some events within history constitute a radical new period of human life do not belong to the realm of historical science. Such assumptions might belong to revolutionary doctrines. The idea of radical novelty is to be found in Benjamin's (1940) famous essay "Über den Begriff der Geschichte" ("Theses on the Philosophy of History"). To Benjamin, revolutions are like "choke points". But Benjamin's vision of a revolutionary chance, by which the overall destructiveness and cruelty of history could be stopped, is part of a "messianic" speculative idea. To Benjamin, only a revolution could still the fatal wind that blows from paradise lost. Here, we face the problem that speculative and theological ideas are sometimes at the core of revolutionary doctrines[1]. A historical concept of revolution is essentially sceptical about the temptations of political theology.

A historical notion of revolution assumes the general *intention* of the revolutionary agents to attack and replace the basic institutional (political and economic) order of a given society by another one. The concept of *intentional attack* seems essential to revolutions, even if such attacks must be prepared with caution and prudence within a long pre-revolutionary period. Revolutionaries must hold the belief that there will potentially be a "*kairos*" (a revolutionary situation), even if it is possible that it will not be achieved within their lifetimes. They do not simply wait for a revolutionary situation to evolve, but try to arrange and stimulate its coming. Upheavals and general strikes may serve as experimental "test balloons" by which the willingness of the old order to strike back may be assessed. To Lenin, the preparation of a revolution must be performed by professionals. Professionals should form the core of a revolutionary party.

Revolutionary agents must hold beliefs about non-trivial moral and political discrepancies between the old and the presumed new order. Let us define the overall set of beliefs as "*revolutionary doctrine*". Any such doctrine is highly complex. It entails principles, arguments, visions, dreams, different kinds of narratives, hopes and fears, motives, strategic and tactical elements and the like. A revolutionary doctrine is something to be proclaimed, even if such proclamations are illegal under the old order. Being proclaimed, revolutionary doctrines suppose a kind of political audience. It wishes people to join as partisans.

At the core of such doctrines, there is always some diagnosis that the existing order is morally corrupt and rotten. Any such litany of moral corruption is full of thick moral concepts. Thus, any revolutionary doctrine also supposes some morals. Additionally, there is also some belief that a revolution cannot be substituted by reforms and negotiations. Revolutionaries must resist temptations that arise if the old order suggests non-trivial reforms to circumvent a revolution. Reforms are toxic to revolutionary ambitions. A third essential component of such doctrines is the belief that the new order is highly superior to the old one and will bring about a new quality of human existence. Under such assumptions, revolutionary actions are legitimized and, moreover, it is deemed worthwhile to take all the potential risks involved. Thus, revolutions always suppose some "*songlines of legitimacy*" that are entailed in revolutionary propaganda. Most revolutionaries are devoted believers, not sceptical intellectuals. They honestly appreciate the litany of corruption, the songlines of legitimacy and the vision of a superior new order. Critical intellectuals, as Theodor W. Adorno (1951) recognized in his *Minima Moralia*, must, however, bring some "*sacrificium intellectus*" to the gates of revolutionary parties, since they too have to conform to official doctrines.

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[1] The philosophy of Ernst Bloch, especially his *Geist der Utopie* (1918), would be another instance of political revolutionary theology.

Intentions and belief systems have a bearing on the character traits of a revolutionary person, who exhibits personal virtues such as courage, stubbornness, solidarity with comrades, and personal sacrifice. Taken together, firm intentions, strong beliefs, and virtuous character traits form a "perfect" revolutionary, as Che Guevara, perhaps, once was. His stylized face became an icon of a revolutionary "*commandante*".

Revolutionary doctrines can be made explicit from different perspectives. A historian tries to understand and explain the motives of the revolutionaries. She investigates, for instance, the impacts of philosophies on revolutionary doctrines. Doctrines are to be found in the many writings and declarations of revolutionaries, which can be viewed as historical sources. In any case, it makes a difference whether the concept of a revolution or the prospect of a specific one is conceived from the perspective of sober historical observers or from persons who believe in the revolutionary doctrine. This distinction between observers and believers is common to the social sciences, but to philosophy it is not complete.

A third perspective, political philosophy, encompasses neither a neutral observer perspective nor the intentional perspective of revolutionary agents. This third approach is *practically interested* in the events of revolutions. It is the perspective of engaged impartial spectators, to borrow a term from Adam Smith (Lohmann 2005). Such practical interest must not necessarily opt "pro", but could rather opt "contra" against specific revolutions. It can also shift from "pro" to "con" during the different stages of a revolution (and vice versa)[2]. The most famous example of how a revolution can be perceived from such perspective is represented by Kant's reflections on the French Revolution (Kant 1798).

The role of the spectator always includes an ethical interest, but it is different from the role of the believers. It focuses on the problem of legitimacy and entitlement. Revolutionary doctrines entail some affirmative assumptions about legitimacy. They take entitlement for granted. Historians, as such, are free to abstract from ethical problems within revolutions. Spectators, however, are critical but not neutral about legitimacy and its principles, narratives, and criteria. They take the assumptions associated with legitimacy as complex and contested validity claims. Their quest for legitimacy is not just the ridiculous intention "to give or not to give ethical permission to make a revolution", but rather a quest which involves a critical reflection on the moral and political scores and stakes that are involved in revolutions. Revolutionaries proclaim, spectators reflect. They focus not only on the glorious but also on the negative and bleak side of revolutions. They affirm the Hegelian idea never to ignore the negative dimension of a matter at stake[3]. Such interested spectatorship also involves a peculiar kind of role-taking. Any revolution is a specific occurrence carried out at some historical locations by specific agents. All instances of revolutions are full of claims originating from its participants. If spectators, however, must "take the role of the revolutionaries", then there is an intrinsic connection between spectators and phenomenologists.

A phenomenological perspective is not a *proteus* which oscillates somewhere between sober historians, enthusiastic revolutionary agents, and critical and reflective spectators. It should have a clear-cut role: A *phenomenological approach* to revolutions may lay overt the complex intentions and emotions (as anger, hate or hope) and imaginations, which usually accompany revolutionary experiences in specific situations. Phenomenology does not take beliefs as propositional validity claims, but as experienced feelings and embodied attitudes. Revolutions are not made in "cold blood". As I understand political phenomenology, it is not about concept formation, it is about *experiences*. Since Edmund Husserl (1935), the concept of experience is generally crucial to phenomenology. Taking the term "phenomenological" seriously and in a political sense, it requires experience being made with a specific revolution as such. Phenomenology requires that phenomenologists come close to a specific revolution, highlighting specific questions and aspects, for example, how do revolutionaries perceive the old order as being corrupt? How do revolutionary passion and rage come about? How is human experience within a revolution to be understood? What can be observed about moments of enthusiasm and despair? This shortlist of questions could be easily augmented. A phenomenology of revolution makes such "feelings" of participants, extending from within revolutionary agents, explicit. In principle, it can also investigate the feelings of opponents who disgust, fear and hate revolutions and reject revolutionary doctrines. A highly sensitive, but slightly distanced analysis might be an accurate description of "phenomenology" in this context[4].

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[2] The French revolution has had, for instance, its affirmative (Kant, Herder, Hegel) and its critical (D'Maistre, Burke, Goethe) bystanders. Many former enthusiastic spectators changed their minds after the "*terreur*" (1793–1794).

[3] Revolutionaries often misconceive spectators as being counter-revolutionaries. This is why spectators are safer at some distance from the actual locations of a revolution.

Phenomenology also has its dangers and pitfalls. An underestimated motive of some revolutionary intellectuals might be their existential longing to experience the true spirit of a revolution or actively take part in one. "Leftist" intellectuals, who spend most of their lives in peaceful academic surroundings, may often wish to take the role of real revolutionaries[5]. Revolutionary intellectuals do not necessarily wish to be pinned to the roles of historians or "mere" spectators. They wish to experience the eventfulness of revolutions by themselves. Thus, they take the perspective of a phenomenologist who waits for the "event" of a revolution in which she would actively participate. If there is no revolution, they simulate the eventfulness without any real experiences. Results are conflated mixtures of revolutionary doctrines and simulated phenomenology. Such "*simulacra*" sometimes come close to involuntary comics, as some suburban riots or some violent actions being performed at demonstrations are celebrated as pre-revolutionary "events". In other instances, the phenomenological perspective is nothing but a stylized ("romanticized") version of the revolutionary doctrine itself. It is, then, just a doctrine in disguise that has adopted the verbal dress code of phenomenology. I propose to safeguard the phenomenological perspective from its pretending simulacra[6].

Therefore, revolutions can be analysed, judged and assessed from the four different perspectives of:

- Historians (events, motives, causes, effects, results);
- Revolutionaries (partisanship, doctrines, beliefs, moral codes);
- Philosophical spectators (ethical reflection, legitimacy);
- Phenomenologists (experiences, "feelings").

Of course, these four perspectives can be mixed and often overlap each other. Historians and spectators may ask whether there are general patterns that underlie all revolutions. But these perspectives should be held distinct in theories of revolutions, since much intellectual and even political confusion may result from such interlinkages. For me, it seems imperative to distinguish between these four perspectives. "*Distinguamus*" should be the maxim of any theory of revolution. A "*shibboleth*" within "theories" of revolution is their general attitude against such distinctiveness of perspectives. This investigation is clearly a

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[4] I am grateful to Veronika Surau-Ott for clarifying the role of a phenomenologist in political philosophy.

[5] Some may even tacitly assume that the experience of a real revolution should be part of an intellectual political life as in former cultures the life of a warrior should include warfare.

[6] Probably, a close bystander mediates between revolutionaries, spectators, and historians. Bystanders share the interests of the spectators, but they are involved not just from an ethical point of view, but in a more existential manner. They are contemporaries of specific revolutions who wish to keep its legacy.

Tab.1 Revolution matrix.

Perspectives/Topics	Novelty	Liberation	Violence	Agency	Scale	Scope	Narratives
Historians							
Revolutionaries							
Spectators							
Phenomenologists							

plea for intellectual honesty (in a Weberian sense).

These four perspectives can, of course, become engaged within a discourse. A philosophy of revolution, then, could resemble a sort of discursive "orchestra" being played with different instruments, whereby no position in the orchestra should presume to be superior or more advanced than the others. The perspective of revolutionaries is by no means superior.

Revolutionary topics

Perspectives remain abstract without topics. Florian Grosser (2013) has argued that any theory of revolution must consider some salient topics. He presents a list, including six crucial topics, to which I wish to add a seventh topic ("narratives"):

1) *Novelty*: the role of revolution within the continuities and discontinuities of history;
2) *Liberation*: emancipation from oppression and misery and the constitution of lasting liberty;
3) *Violence*: legitimacy of civil disobedience, riots, resistance, terrorism, and revolution;
4) *Agency*: Causal drivers and revolutionary agency. Role of organizations such as social movements and parties;
5) *Scale*: from local rebellions to global revolution;
6) *Scope*: political institutions, economic structures, cultural patterns;
7) *Narratives*: "narratives of evil", "heroic narratives", and the like.

For historians, these seven topics with all their many sub-topics are, ultimately, essential. Historians can easily agree on them. Revolutionaries must anticipate and propose the design of the revolution they wish to make according to these topics. Any revolutionary doctrine must entail them. To philosophical spectators, these topics are salient features worthy of conceptual and ethical reflection. Given our four perspectives and these topics, a "revolution-matrix" can be construed which enables critical topological reasoning about revolutions (**Tab.1**).

The following remarks are sketchy examples of how topological reasoning could be performed.

Novelty

It might conflate the perspectives of revolutionaries, phenomenologists, and spectators if a concept of radical or absolute novelty becomes part of the concept of a revolution. From the perspective of revolutionaries, revolutions can be conceived either as moderate or extreme processes with respect to scales and scopes. To give an example: It would be an extreme doctrine to propose a global revolution ("*Weltrevolution*"[7]) that should be continued permanently, which affects political, economic and cultural patterns, bringing about a new quality of societal life. Heroic Maoism in the 1960s came close to such a doctrine of, say, revolution in permanence (HOFFMANN 1978). If the concept of a revolution is defined by such strong novelty, the German revolution of 1989 was, by definition, not a real revolution. This was the position that Habermas (1999) adopted in his "*Nachholende Revolution*".

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[7] See the sources of "Komintern" in Theo Pirker (1964).

According to my view, revolutionaries do not have to hold "messianic" or "eschatological" beliefs. Any new revolutionary doctrine must reconcile previous revolutionary traditions (1776, 1789, 1848, 1917, 1918, and 1989) with the idea of relative, but distinctive novelty. Historians do not believe in absolute novelty. Spectators should critically reflect this idea according to the normative claims it entails. Absolute novelty is not "good" in itself. There can be absolute novelties in history, which are just dreadful, such as industrial factories for genocide. Phenomenologists should check whether participants *really* experience a revolution as an event, which creates radical novelty. Perhaps, the concept of radical novelty should be dropped altogether. It does not make much sense from any perspective. The orchestra does not play well with this melody.

Scope and economics

A historical definition of revolutions does not necessarily imply that, beside political institutions, basic economic structures are also to be replaced ("scope"). In principle, a revolution could replace, for instance, a monarchy by a republic, but could leave the essential property rights of a monarchic, feudal order largely intact (this was the case in Germany after the revolution of 1918.) In reality, however, revolutions often affect economic institutions, including rules of taxation, tariffs, and property rights. After 1918, royal parks within cities, such as Munich, became public ones. Access to positions tends to become more equal after democratic revolutions. How deep, for example, did the Iranian revolution of 1978 affect the Iranian economy? This is an open historical question. Thus, it seems to be more prudent to historians to focus on basic political institutions and leave the problem of how revolutions affect economic structures as an open empirical question to be researched for single cases.

Revolutionaries may, of course, hold the belief that any "mere" political revolution is essentially incomplete without a deep transformation of existing property rights. This belief has been crucial to Marxism when viewed as a revolutionary doctrine. To young Karl Marx (1844a, 388), a radical revolution must be more than a "mere" political revolution. Marx draws a sharp distinction between a partial political revolution and a radical political and economic revolution. Since then, a Marxian revolution must attack the basic economic structures of an order dubbed "capitalism", as private property over the means of production. The next section of this analysis deals with Marxism because it is the paradigm case of a revolutionary doctrine, which focuses on economic structures.

With this in mind, historians and spectators have to reflect on how doctrines address the economic sphere. They have to highlight the many claims with respect to distributive justice, exploitation, privileges, crisis, social rights and entitlements, the fate of minorities and disadvantaged groups, and the like, which are embedded in revolutionary doctrines. Do such doctrines assume the intrinsic value of economic equality? Do they allow for some remaining ownership of private property over the means of production and for the demands of markets over the needs of labour?

The phenomenologist should try to understand how economic affairs of the established order are experienced by revolutionary agents. It must be the case that radical revolutionaries experience economic patterns as highly repugnant. Such experiences are complex ligatures resulting from annoyance, anger, disgust, and resentment. Why are revolutionaries so furious against the rich (or whatever richness means to them)? Are there some economic axioms behind such repugnant feelings? Do revolutionaries tacitly (and, perhaps, falsely) assume that economies are zero-sum-games?

Violence

Revolutionaries, historians, and philosophical spectators have to make some ethical statements about the presumed legitimacy of violent means and about the rule of conduct within a revolution. To historians, violence simply happens (or not). The problem of legitimization was less pressing in historical epochs in which violence was seen as part of the human predicament. It becomes far more pressing if a civilization has become more peaceful in many aspects of social life: punishment, education, warfare, gender relations, criminal rates, and the like. From a moral point of view, however, violence is, *prima facie*, an evil. In contemporary mainstream political liberalism, violence is an "*ultima ratio*", being reserved for highly unusual cases. If so, the burden of proof falls on those who propagate violent means to reach political goals. Thus, there is a peculiar dialectic between peacefulness and revolutionary thought in contemporary Western societies. Prospects for revolutions clash with the achievements of a civil society. Open violence is on the retreat in civil and full liberal societies, but revolutionaries must give some credit to revolutionary violence, as Benjamin did (1921). This is why revolutionary doctrines must make assumptions about "structural violence", which is made invisible by the system. Structural violence, then, occurs in factory regimes, at borders, at courts, and at other locations.

Matters look different, however, if some revolutionaries and, perhaps, even some philosophers hold the (speculative) idea that the very essence of the political sphere becomes transparent as an event in such highly unusual situations. According to this idea, revolutionary violence reveals "the" political *being* as a matter of life and death. I see this line of thought in political philosophies, which combine Carl Schmitt and Marx (for an in-depth analysis see Marchart 2010). More specifically, they combine the Marxist concept of class struggle with the Schmittian approach that the political sphere is constituted by the opposition between friends and foes (Schmitt 1963). This leftist "Schmitt-Marxian" philosophy is intertwined with new revolutionary doctrines in highly complex figures of thought.

Such an essentialist conception of the political is not committed to "cosy" restrictions on revolutionary violence which, as some well-minded persons might wish, should be limited, should be non-cruel, should respect basic rules of law, should avoid casualties of innocents, should not reintroduce capital punishment for a longer period, should not tolerate torture, should treat captives in decent ways and the like. This nice and cosy ("politically correct") type of revolutionary violence might turn into a reformist and legal strategy and would miss the high emotional spirit of a revolution – its enthusiastic rage.

Therefore, violence continues to be a thorny topic for revolutionary thought. This explains why contemporary revolutionary doctrines must emphasize assumptions about the "structural violence of the system". The peaceful daily life within Western culture must be demasked as a surface behind which the brute forces of capitalism operate on a global scale. It must be argued that a short period of revolutionary violence implies less harm and injustice than the continuity of structural ("systemic") violence. These assumptions are essential to the revolutionary litany of corruption and the narrative of evil. But how much credit does the "*structural-violence*" approach deserve? It seems fair to say that it is, at best, one approach toward economic globalization among many. What are the overall results of foreign direct investments? What is really going on in large-scale land acquisition? What are the welfare effects of trade? Why do some states fail and others find a way toward prosperity? Which economic relationships are still traditional and domestic (such as slave-like labour)? How does inequality within nations and between nations evolve over time? These are highly complex macro-economic affairs, whose close analysis may well run counter to revolutionary doctrines.

Some revolutionaries have felt the need for a deeper justification of violence, as has been put forth by Benjamin in his masterpiece on violence (Benjamin 1921, 179–203). Benjamin's type of reasoning is not phenomenology (as according to definition), but political theology. Benjamin argues in a highly speculative manner that there is a kind of pure, immediate and divine violence as completely opposed to "mythical" violence. Pure divine violence is an event beyond moral judgement. As Benjamin writes, divine violence negates all lawfulness, it destroys all borderlines, it is "*entsühnend*" (absolving) and it is, paradoxically, lethal without shedding blood ("*auf unblutige Weise letal*"; Benjamin 1965, 199). Benjamin mentions the narrative of the "Korah" in the Hebrew Bible as an instance for divine violence. In this narrative, a protest against the leaders of the "exodus", Moses and Aaron, is punished by God by a kind of spectacular annihilation of the protesters: "And it came to pass […] that the ground clave asunder that was under them:

And the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their houses, and all the men that appertained unto Korah, and all their goods" (Book of Numbers, chapter 16). According to the Hebrew modes of thought, it is divine punishment without bloodshed.

Whatever the merits of Benjamin's philosophy, seen at large, his dichotomic construction of two strictly contradictive types of violence cannot serve as an ethical approach toward revolutionary violence. If this dichotomy would be projected onto revolutionary violence, some "lethal annihilations" (or "liquidations") might then be justified if this is necessary to continue the march of liberation. In any case, it seems questionable whether Benjamin's idea to reconcile messianic thought with Marxism can contribute to contemporary political philosophy, and if so, how?

Legitimacy

To spectators and revolutionaries, the topic of legitimization is crucial. Most political philosophers would agree on the principle: *Res publica est semper reformanda*. To spectators, the legitimacy of revolutions is to be connected to the opportunities for substantial reforms that an established order is willing to initiate and tolerate. The fewer reforms within reach, the more a revolution becomes a political option. The degree of openness to reforms clearly varies according to political regimes. Such degrees are often sharply contested among historians, spectators, and revolutionaries. Phenomenologists may analyse whether some people feel that they are really locked in a repugnant system, and that they view revolution as the one and only remaining exit route. But prospects for substantial reforms and the diagnosis of being locked in a repugnant system sharply compete.

There is always some strategic leeway implemented by an incumbent system to impede revolutionaries: Either enhance openness for reform or enhance the repressiveness of the regime. Successful reforms undermine the prospects for a revolution because the regime wins the support of the groups, which are satisfied with the reforms. Reforms increase the legitimacy and resilience of a regime. Since revolutionaries cannot completely argue against reforms, they must take reforms as steps to develop even more radical claims, which overburden the routines and devices of a regime.

To spectators, it is quite hard to legitimize a revolution if the order to be replaced is a civil, wealthy, full liberal, and decent democratic society, which guarantees a system of human rights, fair elections between competing political parties and allows for substantial reforms within constitutional law. This is the "*crux perennis*" of Western revolutionary thought since 1945, especially after 1968. Marcuse once asked: "*Was ist eigentlich an diesem System so schlecht, daß wir es wagen können, das ungeheure Risiko seines Umsturzes zu predigen?*" (Editor translation: "What is actually so bad about this system that we can dare to preach the enormous risk of its overthrow?") (Marcuse 1967, 57). I leave it open for Marcuse-scholars to debate whether Marcuse has given a convincing answer to his question. I only wish to point to the necessity of providing sufficient reasons about the overall "badness" and "evils" of a given order.

If legitimacy is a prerequisite, contemporary revolutionaries in Western societies stand in need to produce a "*narrative of evil*" in which Western societies are painted as nasty and repugnant as possible in order to delegitimize them and, in reverse, legitimize the prospect of a coming revolution. After the economic crisis of 2007, revolutionary theorists presented many such narratives. But how credible are they? From a methodological point, credibility of (historical) narratives is to be checked against a great number of mostly stylized facts. The question should be: Do revolutionary narratives fulfil criteria of credibility?

Narratives

Interesting enough for spectators and historians, outlooks for a profound anti-capitalist change gained momentum after the years of the financial crisis of 2008. At present, we face a kind of revival of the revolutionary topography of the 1970s (Koenen 2001). There is a growing litany in many books and articles which provides a "narrative of evil", telling the public that the dominant combination of capitalism, welfare state and representative democracy is deeply repugnant and corrupt. The existing "neoliberal"[8] order is said to be essentially unfair, post-democratic, ecologically devastating, over-commodifying, poverty accelerating, and victimizes the disadvantaged all over the world. It is argued that parliamentary democracy has been hijacked by capitalistic interests, the welfare state has been crumbled into fragments, the mass media are manipulative, reforms are marginal, migrants are harnessed, external effects on the global poor are excessive, policies pave the way for right-wing movements, and that all current crises are about to peak.

Such narratives of evil are clearly "*thick descriptions*" tailored from stylized facts and moral values. Many citizens are deeply worried by such narratives on moral grounds, as they present a picture, which is incompatible with our self-esteem as citizens of liberal, democratic, wealthy, and morally decent states that form the European Union. Partisans of the new left are quite explicit about the political functions of such "narratives of evil". After the "Blockupy" demonstration in Frankfurt in March 2015, philosopher Thomas Seibert (2015), member of the "Interventionistische Linke", argued as follows (author transl.): "We have to impose a political crisis upon the European Union resulting from the economic crisis. In order to do so, we have to present Europe as it is: A power which has ruined, humiliated, and impoverished the lives of millions of people"[9]. In the eyes of the partisans, the "narratives of evil" have a clear function ("to enforce a political crisis"), they raise a validity claim of truth-telling ("Europe as it is"), and, last but not least, they are full of "thick moral values", by which the representatives of the established order can be named, blamed and shamed.

We can address such narratives of evil according to our four-perspective orchestra. Taking the role of a phenomenologist, one should register the "appealing force", the "charming rhetoric", and the "emotional spirit" which are rather implicit in these narratives. Phenomenologists should be sensitive about the ways in which narratives of evil wish to mobilize people. They should also register how moral emotions (as guilt and shame) are evoked in such narratives. Spectators may analyse which ethical principles are entailed in such narratives of evil. Spectators should take the implicit moral validity claims seriously and should carefully analyse the lines of reasoning within such narratives of evil. Historians may ask what factual evidence is encompassed in such narratives. Historians may also compare the contemporary "narratives of evil" with the former "Agit-Prop" of the communist parties and the "Komintern". Historians are entitled to check such narratives against criteria of credibility.

Therefore, it would be an innovative research perspective in political philosophy to analyse such contemporary and revolutionary "narratives of evil" in more detail along the lines of the four perspectives and according to the revolutionary matrix. Such an analysis is clearly beyond the scope of this article. Nevertheless, a sharp and detailed analysis of such "narratives of evil" would contribute to contemporary political philosophy. Such analyses would not tell us how "bad and evil" capitalism "really" is. It would inform us about the diagnostic beliefs and persuasive strategies of the new(est) leftist intellectuals.

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[8] *Stricto sensu*, the economic policies within the EU are not "neoliberal" at all. "Neoliberal" is mostly just a catch phrase within the narratives of evil.

[9] The German original: "*Wir müssen der Europäischen Union aus ihrer ökonomischen Krise heraus eine politische Krise aufzwingen. Dazu müssen wir Europa so darstellen, wie es ist: eine Macht, die Millionen aus ihrem Leben geworfen, gedemütigt und verarmt hat*".

THE PARADIGM OF REVOLUTIONARY DOCTRINE OR: A CRITICAL LOOK ON MARXISM

The economic argument for proletarian revolution

A specific economic interpretation of the crucial role that revolutions play within the history of mankind belongs to the theoretical core of Marxism. Prospects for a genuine proletarian revolution belong to its normative and political core. To put it in Marx' own blunt essentialist metaphor: "Revolutions are the locomotives within history". To be a revolutionary, then, means to smell and taste the breath of the locomotion of history. But Marxism presumes that a step is taken from utopian to scientific modes of thought. By doing so, it opposes all "romantic" and "voluntaristic" approaches to revolutions. Revolutions occur due to necessity and even its agents are products of economic forces. Revolutions occur if economic situations have become objectively "mature"[10]. Premature revolts are bound to fail.

To Marx, the political economy of capitalism entails both an analysis of the final class formation within history, the essential and objective contradictions within capitalism, and the prospect of a proletarian revolution to be eventually unavoidable. The prospect of a revolution becomes a scientific prediction. In Marx' theory of history, a period of revolutions emerges with some necessity as the technological means of production ("*Produktivkräfte*") contradicts economic institutions and regimes ("*Produktionsverhältnisse*"). Private property over the means of production and a market for labour shall, in some sense, contradict the social character of industrial production. The fetishism of commodity production is part of such "real" contradictions within capitalism. Contradictions are driving forces, which result in accelerating crises and terminate in an ultimate collapse of capitalism. Marx' theory wishes to reconcile a Hegelian approach on the forcefulness of contradictions with an approach in political economy that emphasizes the coincidence of accelerating crisis with the impoverishment of a vast majority of the proletariat and increasing political consciousness of this proletarian majority. The real contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, especially escalating economic crises, unemployment, over-accumulation, under-consumption, etc., pave the way towards a proletarian revolution which, in Marx' famous wording in the *Grundrisse* (Marx 1859, 8–9), will be the final revolution, because it will bring all antagonism between social and economic classes to an end. The one and only remaining revolution in history is underway due to the real contradictions of capitalism.

To Marx, the proletarians are the first and the final class within history. They are the first actual class, since the antagonistic relationship between economically separated classes becomes fully transparent within the antagonism between proletarians and capitalists. In other words: this antagonism becomes fully overt as an economic one. As Marx' theory is just a conceptual reflection of experiences, which proletarians have to make on a daily basis within the system of production, this theory focuses conceptually on the conditions within the sphere of production, under which the awareness of the first genuine economic class constitutes itself. On the one hand, proletarians recognize in their daily working life that antagonism to the capitalists rests on their role within a system of commodity production.

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[10] This was different in the doctrines of both Bakunin (1869) and Lenin (1902), which both emphasize the role of devoted revolutionary agency, be it in spontaneous deeds (Bakunin) or by rigid organisation (Lenin). Both the opponents of Marx and his most prominent followers emphasize the role of attacking the old system. Bakunin's approach in his "Prinzipien der Revolution" (1869) gives legitimacy to complete destructiveness: "*Die jetzige Generation muß mit der echten Revolution beginnen. Sie muß […] alles Bestehende ohne Unterschied blindlings zerstören*" (Editor translation: "The current generation must begin with the true revolution. It must […] blindly destroy everything indiscriminately" (Bakunin 1972, 103)). Such destructiveness should make no difference whatsoever. The real revolutionaries act in a "blindly" destructive manner.

The proletarians are, on the other hand, the final class within history because the revolution they are bound to make will, in Marx' eyes, end all economic class-relations once and for all. At the "*locus classicus*" (1859, 9), Marx gives no reason why this should be the case. It is simply stated and must be believed. Thus, the idea of the final revolution exclusively belongs to the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism, not to historical or even philosophical analysis. It runs counter to this statement that new economic classes emerged in the Soviet systems after 1917.

In his later work, Marx wished to make a strong economic argument as to why a proletarian revolution is eventually inescapable and inevitable, although it seems fair to argue that Marx felt deep scepticism whether such an argument could be made. Even if there is a tendency that profit rates decline, such a tendency does not terminate by itself in a final economic crisis. It seems fair to say that the idea of a "final crisis of capitalism" has lost almost all credit among critical economics. Even if there is a lesson to be learned from Marx that capitalism reproduces itself via periodical crises, it does not follow that such crises must escalate to a final one. It was Keynes who provided a theory on how the state could moderate such crises. To sum up: The argument on necessity has failed. But, perhaps, a moral argument in favour of an anti-capitalistic revolution is still within reach. We now turn to this possibility.

The moral argument for a revolution

Marx' theory of history is, in a highly complex way, connected to moral and even ethical suppositions especially in Marx' and Friedrich Engels' early writings during the 1840s. Engels, for instance, felt not grief and mercy, but moral anger about grave injustice as he describes the actual living conditions of the working class under English capitalism in this period of time (Engels 1964). Moral anger is a revolutionary sentiment. Marx proclaimed what he calls a "categorical imperative", which demands the abolishment of all situations ("*alle Verhältnisse umzuwerfen*") in which human beings are forced into some uncomfortable and nasty situations of deprivation, misery, and serfdom. The original claims of the young Marx are clearly revolutionary and he rejects all revolutions that are merely political ones, as they leave the economic pillars of a capitalist society intact, especially private ownership over the means of production. Engels' *Grundsätze des Kommunismus* (1847/1974), which have been overshadowed by the more inspiring *Kommunistisches Manifest* (Marx/Engels 1848/2009), provides a clear outline of a political program to be realized in the economic and social interests of the vast majority of the working class directly after a revolution. The gradual abolition of private property is at the heart of this program. A core element of the revolutionary doctrine is the assumption that private property is a root cause of all misery and injustice. Thus, a revolution should establish a new regime of "collectivist" property rights. Another core element of Marxism is the replacement of free markets by collectivist plans – whoever the planning authority may be. Planning is about the "what", the "how", and the "by whom" of production. By planning, the dialectics of use value and exchange value are resolved towards commodity production, which "really" serves human needs and legitimate aspirations. This line of thought has been affirmed by authors such as Friedrich Pollock (1932; 1933) in his essays on *Planwirtschaft*, and also by many supporters of the "new left" in the "red decade" of the 1970s. Some but not all partisans of the "new left" affirmed the revolutionary morals of "orthodox" communism.

The moral doctrine of "classical" Marxism/Leninism was composed out of the commitment to perform revolutionary activities, to organize the party, to prepare for the revolution, and to actively take part in it with courage and decisiveness as well as to defend the new revolutionary order with all might (so Leo Trotzki (1967) in his famous essay "Ihre Moral und unsere"). In metaethical parlance, the moral doctrine of Marxism/Leninism had been a teleological and partisan doctrine. The ultimate "*telos*" is a classless society in which all needs are fulfilled in a highly egalitarian manner. Production is organized according to rational plans based on real needs. Leisure time increases, whereas the remaining workload is performed without much alienation and exploitation. The economy becomes governed by an association of free and equal persons. The state, after a short revolutionary period of increased power dubbed as "dictatorship of the proletarians", will gradually vanish. It is always hard to oppose such a utopian *telos*. Therefore, even today many people hold the belief that communism is "in principle a good idea".

Between the contemporary situation of "late" capitalism and this final *telos* of communism there remains, however, a period of intensified class struggle, a series of rebellions, riots, mass strikes, revolutions and rigid counterrevolutions, warfare for hegemony by competing capitalistic states ("imperialism"), and the like[11]. In such a period, a heroic revolutionary moral of combat seems essential[12].

Thus, the moral doctrine of Marxism is a combination of a teleological perspective with strategic maxims of how to operate successfully within an ongoing class struggle. While the teleological perspective is a full-fledged vocabulary of ethical ideals ("liberation", "emancipation", "distributive justice", "equality", "society without competition", "fulfilment of all lawful needs", "global solidarity", "eternal peace", "good and flourishing life for all", "real democracy"), the strategic maxims are designed for the purposes of class struggle as long as it may last. Those maxims permit deviations from ordinary moral conduct, if this seems to be politically necessary in a given situation. The idea that some moral obligations hold in all situations is rejected as "metaphysical".

On *ethical reflection*, such a combination of teleology and strategy has many moral flaws. It promises paradise and permits crime. This became apparent under Stalinism and Maoism. It terminated into practices of liquidation and elimination. It was the communist Maurice Merlau-Ponty (1968) in his *Humanismus und Terror* from 1947, who recognized that the Marxist doctrine presumed to resolve the enigma of human history by revolutionary practices, but had to realize that this presumption is cursed if humans try to realize it within history. The young Marx wrote with enthusiasm: "*Dieser Kommunismus […] ist das aufgelöste Rätsel der Geschichte und weiß sich als diese Lösung*" (Editor translation: "This communism […] is the solution to the riddle of history and knows that it is the solution itself") (MARX 1844b, 536). Such hubris has undergone its nemesis.

Given the many economic, political and ethical deficiencies of Marxism, and given the overall result of the "great" communist experiments between 1917 and 1990, one may cast reasonable doubts whether Marxism deserves a second chance at the beginning of the 21st century. At the very least, it is a high-risk enterprise. Rethinking the problem of risk-taking in revolutionary doctrines, one should remember Nikolai Bucharin's (1923/1971) "Proletarische Revolution und Kultur". Bucharin argues that a proletarian revolution does not occur without high costs, including victimization. The costs of a proletarian revolution must be far higher than the enormous cost of a bourgeoisie revolution because proletarians lack any experience on how to create and establish a new order. Thus, costs of revolutions are excessive and even immense.

I assert that Bucharin's thoughts can and should be applied to the new revolutionary discourse. Thus, we should not only listen to the promising vocabulary of liberation and to the narratives of evil but we should also assess all the potential risks and uncertainties involved in a period of revolutionary activities, which are bound to be exposed in a "real" revolution.

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[11] One should keep in mind that Engels carefully analyzed warfare and the industrialized production of arms. He wrote, that "*die europäische Völkerverbrüderung nicht durch bloße Phrasen und fromme Wünsche zustandekommt, sondern nur durch gründliche Revolutionen und blutige Kämpfe*" (Editor translation: "an alliance of European peoples will not arise through mere phrases and wishful thinking, but rather by extensive revolutions and bloody battles") (ENGELS 1849, 270–271). See Herfried Münkler (2001).

[12] In a historical ethical perspective, revolutionary Marxism rejected the ideas to reconcile Kantianism and Marxism within a more reformist approach of political change. So-called "ethical socialism" had gained some intellectual influence at the turn of the 20th century, but was rejected by such revolutionaries as Lenin, Trotzki, Luxemburg, Karl Radek, and Georg Lukács, among others. The polemical split between reformist Marxo-Kantians, social democrats, and trade unionists on the one hand, and revolutionary Marxists/Leninists, on the other hand, remained intact for decades. See the contributions in Hans Jörg Sandkühler and Rafael de la Vega (1974).

Probably, Marxism is in some sense immortal. It may have its revivals in some specific economic crises. It may well accompany capitalist societies whatever their achievements may be in terms of prosperity, welfare, liberty, democracy, and the like. The teleological rhetoric is clearly attractive at any time within history. The fascination with it prevails despite the grim disasters of all socialist regimes that we have observed throughout the 20th century. Generally, it would be an ambitious task to analyse Marxism according to the matrix in more detail. Although Marxism has been affirmed and negated in (too) many books, perhaps time has come to analyse this doctrine with analytical rigor.

Excursus: Alain Badiou and the German revolution

One of the most prominent representatives of the "new(est) left" is Badiou. He holds some ideas about the very difference between usual politics and "*la politique*". "*La politique*" is conceived as being an event ("Ereignis"). To recognize an event as such, one has to leave all mere facts aside. Events interrupt normalities. As Jean-Jacques Lecercle says, events "flash like bolts of lightning, and truths emerge" (quote in Marchart 2010, 161). An event is provocative, evanescent and transitory, and it is constituted by some non-propositional truth. It is strictly revolutionary because it interrupts all political routines of the state. Events are rare and highly exceptional, occurring only once in a lifetime, if at all. Badiou connects the concept of the "political" as being eventfulness with the Marxist doctrine of revolution. To Badiou, the Russian revolution of 1917 was one of the very rare events in the 20th century. Badiou leaves it open whether there have been other real events between 1968 and the present. He wonders whether some militant riots in the Banlieue might have been real events, and in recent years, he was highly enthusiastic about the so-called Arab Spring, as he was earlier affirmative about the Cambodian revolution of the Khmer Rouge. Recently, Badiou declared to regret his articles on Cambodia in the 1970s, but he adds by quoting Spinoza: "Repentance is not a virtue".

Some interpreters say that Badiou's philosophy belongs to the camp of "political phenomenology". I do not want to analyse the ethical underpinning of this revolutionary philosophy with respect to concepts of truth, emancipation, equality, and justice. I adopt only one single component of Badiou's revolutionary ethics, namely that revolutionaries are committed to hold with strict loyalty ("*Treue*") to the truth of events. Otherwise, they become traitors. Badiou demands the archaic virtue of loyalty with respect to truthful events as an essential part of his revolutionary doctrine. To my mind, this is nothing but a Heideggerian variant of the Leninist commitment to stay absolutely loyal to the communist party and its leader. Moreover, Badiou feels entitled to determine what counts as an event (and what not).

In a volume published in 2005, Badiou writes an article entitled "Von einem dunklen, unbekannten Desaster". The article deals with the collapse of Soviet communism in 1989 and 1990, which in some sense revolves (sic!) around the event of the Russian revolution[13]. In this worrisome article, Badiou briefly mentions the German situation in 1989, which was highly eventful for its participants (including the author as a young man). Badiou writes: "*Es gab die Skizze eines deutschen Ereignisses während der Demonstrationen in Leipzig […], doch keine Wahrheit, die diesen plötzlich auftretenden Phänomenen genau entspricht, so dass alles unentscheidbar bleibt. Danach kamen Walesa,*

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[13] Badiou argues that all communists have always been faithful to this event (Badiou 2005, 59). Now, the event is overshadowed by the end of the Soviet order it once established: Communism is dead – but the event of 1917 must stay alive eternally.

der Papst, Helmut Kohl, Yeltsin, etc. Wer wird es wagen, diese Eigennamen im Glanz oder dem Wetterleuchten einer Verkündigung eines Ereignisses zu interpretieren?" (Editor translation: "There was a sketch of a German event during the demonstrations in Leipzig […], but no truth that exactly meets this suddenly occurring phenomenon, so that everything remains undecidable. Afterwards, Walesa, the Pope, Helmut Kohl, Yeltsin, etc., came to the stage. Who would dare to interpret these proper names in the gloss or the lightning of a proclamation of an event?").

Badiou is balancing on the edge between political phenomenology and Marxist doctrine. On the one hand, there was some undeniable eventfulness in Germany in 1989, but no clear "truth" within these phenomena. But what kind of truth does Badiou request? Badiou defines "truth" as the real process of loyalty to the event ("*Treue zu einem Ereignis*"). If so, Badiou is simply begging the question. Since a Marxist is at some pain to be loyal with anti-communist revolutions, there can be no "truthful event" in such affairs. Any historian, spectator, and phenomenologist of revolutionary eventfulness should take into account what "really" happened between the 40th anniversary of the GDR, the demonstrations in Leipzig, the refugees in the Austrian embassy, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the occupation of the building of the "Stasi", and the collapse of the authorities of the GDR. There were many events, morals, and feelings in this revolutionary period of time.

Nevertheless, there is no space for any anti-communist revolution within Marxist doctrine. Therefore, Badiou asks this highly rhetorical question which implicitly denies that specific names can be part of a narrative which describes an event of "*la politique*". This rhetorical question is begging the question again. I am bold enough to answer this question in the affirmative and imply that Badiou follows unfair pseudo-phenomenology. In my judgement, Badiou is a stubborn doctrinaire: Ultimately, the underlying Marxist doctrine is decisive about "real" events. In my estimation, a repugnant mixture of arrogance and ignorance is perceptible[14].

INSTITUTIONS BASED ON REVOLUTIONS: HANNAH ARENDT ON "RÄTE" ("BOARDS")

In this final section, I adopt the perspective of a critical spectator. Spectators may fairly well ask the question, whether revolutions can generate political institutions which might become established in a superior political order. Let us assume that we have seen a series of instances of political revolutions in the Western world: 1776, 1789, 1848, 1890, 1917, and 1918. One can look at these revolutions in a more direct manner ("*intentio recta*"), or in a more indirect way ("*intentio oblique*"). Is there, in a more oblique perspective, something that occurred in all or almost all of these revolutions, which is not simply a moment within the revolutionary doctrines and programs, but has high significance for normative political theory?

In Arendt's (1963) seminal book *On Revolution*, she wishes to focus attention on an occurrence, which happened in all or almost all modern revolutions, namely the spontaneous emergence of "*Räte*" ("boards"). When old powers and institutions are scattered and their power dwindles, when these old powers ultimately implode, and when there is an urgent need for debate and decision-making within the ongoing course of a revolution, "boards" or "committees" ("*Räte*", "soviets") constitute themselves and gain political authority for some (short) period of time. Such boards take responsibility in a post-normal political situation in which stakes are high, values in dispute, institutions fluid, decisions urgent and risks of failure paramount. Such boards and committees had, of course, a different cultural shape in British colonies in 1775, in France in 1871, in Germany in 1918/9, in Russia 1917 and in Hungary in 1956, but their emergence is, to Arendt, a general and surprising event. These boards operate in exceptional situations, metaphorically speaking, in the no-man's-land between the old and the new order. Thus, they are in some sense "autocratic" because they can draw legitimacy neither from the old order – having vanished – nor from a new order yet to be established.

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[14] Some pages further, Badiou sings himself and others a song about the eternal recurrence of communism, some strange kind of "*Ankündigungslied […], der vielfache Name dessen, was immer kommen wird*" (Badiou 2005, 65–66) (Editor translation: "Introduction song […], the multiple name of what is yet to come").

Let us assume for the sake of argument that such boards, indeed, emerge in revolutionary periods. Marxists affirmed such boards in the Parisian Commune. Even Schmitt (1993, 57–58) wondered whether Germany had been a "*Räterepublik*" (council republic) in the winter of 1918/19. Schmitt seems to affirm this question. The last instance of this "*Rätesystem*", mentioned by Arendt, occurred in the Hungarian anti-communist revolution in 1956. It also seems to be in line with Arendt's argument to maintain that such boards and "round table committees" also emerged spontaneously in the wake of the German revolution during the fall of 1989 and the winter of 1990. They guarded the revolution until the first free election in the spring of 1990. Most of them soon withdrew from politics and were replaced by Westernized political professionals after 1990. Nevertheless, the historical narrative of the German revolution supports Arendt's argument.

Arendt wishes to make the point that the members of these revolutionary boards were different from professional revolutionaries and firm believers of revolutionary doctrines. They were sympathetic with the revolution, but were not committed to specific doctrines. They were rather independent and prudent persons. With respect to the revolution of 1918, Arendt (1963, 337) stylizes the alternative between a "*Rätesystem*" as a pillar of a new German constitution, on the one hand, and a representative parliamentary democracy dominated by parties on the other hand.

Arendt wishes to remind us about this almost forgotten institution denoted as "*Räte*" – not in a purely historical, but in a political-ethical perspective. Although they can collapse into elitism, can be conquered by party activists and professional revolutionaries or can be transformed into some kind of parliamentary assemblies, to Arendt, such boards have some utopian republican charm. Arendt wishes to identify elements of natural aristocracy, strong republicanism, direct local democracy, high political responsibility, and personal integrity and honesty in such boards. They are paradigms of, say, a liquid revolutionary republicanism. Arendt seriously presumes that the "*Räte*" can be interpreted as the "*Keimzelle einer neuen staatlichen Ordnung*" (Arendt 1963, 338). In such a perspective, the vision of a "*Räte-Republik*" immediately comes to mind, although a genuine "*Räte-Republik*" would be different from both totalitarianism and representative parliamentary democracy.

Arendt offers her (Aristotelian) political vision by blending together moments of ancient aristocracy, Swiss canton assemblies, New England town hall meetings, Parisien Communards and the original "soviets" in Germany and Russia within the revolutions, which put an end to European constitutional monarchies. To her, "*Räterepublik*" means direct democracy and genuine citizenship. In a crucial statement, Arendt merges history and ethics into a political suggestion: The real revolutions show by themselves "*die Umrisse einer Staatsform und Republik, die auf dem Prinzip des Rätesystems gegründet sein könnte*" (Editor translation: "the outlines of a form of government and a republic that could be founded on the principle of the council system") (Arendt 1963, 343).

This vision is fundamental to Arendt's strong republicanism. It has been proposed (or so I hold) out of the spectator-perspective, not out of the phenomenology-perspective. In the rest of this section, I wish to take Arendt's political vision seriously.

Arendt is highly critical of representative democracy based on a competition between political parties. Such party systems create political professions, as Weber (2012) recognized in his "*Politik als Beruf*", although such political professionals are not necessarily the most prudent citizens. They are, in Aristotelian parlance, rather "*oligoi*" than "*aristoi*". Arendt offers a highly negative and stylized image of parliamentarianism, which is highly fashionable even today. To her, the system of checks and balances, of representation, of voting for candidates, and of electorate campaigns has transformed itself actually ("in Wahrheit"; Arendt 1963, 347) into a kind of oligarchy. If one simply adopts Arendt's negatively stylized image of parliamentarianism as being close to oligarchy, and if one, moreover, adopts her vision of "*Räte-Republik*" as a kind of revolutionary aristocratism, the latter is clearly superior to the former – as aristocracy was superior to oligarchy in the political philosophy of Aristotle.

At this critical point, however, Arendt concedes crucial differences between real oligarchies and parliamentarianism, whatever the parallels. Contemporary Western democracies are rather interpreted as welfare states than oligarchies. Policy-making is performed by small groups of elites, who are selected via the party system. But such elites do not merely serve the interests of the rich. They serve the interests of well-organized groups and try to balance them (see also Olson 1965). Such balancing is ruled by some ideas of equity, not egalitarian justice. In any case, one does not understand the operative logic of the professionalized political system if one conceives it in terms of Aristotelianism. Aristotle's political philosophy, including his typology of political orders, is grounded in virtue ethics. A modern theory of democracy should focus on legitimacy and the rule of law, not virtues. Supposing a variant of deliberative democracy, as outlined by Habermas in his *Faktizität und Geltung* (1992), one may fairly ask how the Arendtian vision can find a proper place within a concept of deliberative democracy. The two normative pillars of deliberative democracy are inclusion of all voices and the deliberative force of reasoning, which operates within civil societies, professionalized policy-making and some intermediate zones (see Ott 2014).

According to Arendt, the revolutionary boards operate in some institutional vacuum in between the old and the new. Thus, they are at best a transient paradox of anarchic aristocratic autocrats. They fill a vacuum, but should political philosophy endorse some "*horror vacui*"? An institutional vacuum is a highly uncomfortable situation of uncertainty and insecurity, providing chances for usurpations and conquests of all kinds. Arendt herself makes this point, as she concedes that boards might be replaced by the dictatorship of revolutionary parties. If so, revolutionary spirit would be suppressed by the mentality of "revolutionary" parties (Arendt 1963, 340).

If a new and lasting superior order should be constituted after a revolution, boards must become institutions within a constitutional order. If the new order is a democratic one, boards must obtain legitimacy by electorates. They must shift from transitional authorities to firm political bodies. In any case, members of such political bodies must turn into representatives by being elected by voters. The vacuum must be filled by voting citizens. There can be, of course, institutions that resemble the boards. Such an entity, for instance, might be a senate or, as some proponents of environmental democracy hold, a board of environmental leaders, which should have some competencies to block laws for some period of time, if such laws, for example, do not conform to standards of ecological sustainability. One may also think of a number of parliamentary seats being reserved for persons who do not belong to a party and are to be elected in a side-electorate. I do not wish to discuss the merits and shortcomings of such proposals, but merely point to alternative scenarios.

Within the concept of deliberative democracy, there is a middle ground between reasoning civil society and professionalized politics (a system including a parliament, parties, departments, a political administration, and a supreme court). In this middle ground, there is much deliberation and there are also opportunities for political participation. Here, there are many "boards", advisory councils, committees, ad-hoc-groups, and the like. One should not misconceive this sphere as being occupied by economic lobbies. We observe many representatives of NGOs, concerned scientists, advocates for marginalized groups, environmental activists, and the like. This is the actual sphere of boards and citizenship. In this sphere, there can and should be room for the direct participation of citizens, as can be practiced, for instance, by citizen juries[15]. It does not come as a surprise that the "narratives of evil" completely ignore this sphere of actual deliberation.

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

The matrix, as presented here in section 2, negates the conviction of revolutionaries that justice, morals, reason, the spirit of history, or even God are on their side. The topological approach does not falsify revolutionary doctrines, but rather undermines a part of their overbearing presumption that they represent the political avant-garde. Revolutionary rhetoric might become fashionable again among intellectuals. But what can revolutionary thought contribute to the problems we face?

For the time being, ethical spectators, however, should warn against being blinded by the vocabulary of goodness and by the narratives of evil that are put forth despite all the risks of a "next chance for revolutionary Marxism". The risks of giving such a next chance to revolutionary doctrines are paramount. Many people in our society have far more to lose than just chains, and have sound reasons to be sceptical whether they can "win a new world". Honestly, I am highly risk averse with respect to revolutions if they put a full liberal democracy and functioning welfare state capitalism at risk. Do revolutionaries recognize what is at stake in a real revolution?

The underlying philosophy of contemporary revolutionary intellectuals is composed of a combination of Schmitt and Marx, with some supplements from Antonio Gramsci, Benjamin and others, even Lenin[16]. A detailed analysis is presented by Oliver Marchart (2010) in his book *Die politische Differenz*. Mouffe (2005, 143–152) affirms the political instincts of the populist right-wing-movements of Europe. Politics, as Mouffe (2005, 146) argues, needs the very difference between "we" and "they", between friends and enemies ("*Radikale Politik kommt nicht ohne die Definition eines Gegners aus*") (Editor translation: "Radical politics cannot do without a defined opponent"). Meanwhile, enemies have been clearly defined: institutions of EU-capitalism, especially "Berlin" and "Brussels". Does this approach address the "real" political challenges that we, as citizens of democracies, are confronted with today? I wish to clearly negate this question.

Beyond serious doubts, Europe faces huge challenges at the very moment and the political agenda is full of vexing problems: mass migration (Ott 2016), "the Greek crisis", "Brexit", secessionism, annexationism and warfare in Ukraine, nationalist visions such as "Eurasia" in Russia, cruel Jihadism in the Arab world (IS, Al-Qaida), globalized terrorism (Paris, Brussels, Istanbul) and the almost complete disaster of the Arab spring, culminating in the horrible disaster in Syria. Moreover, climate change and the reconfiguration of the energy-supply system, crises of growth-oriented economics, ongoing environmental destruction, finding depositories for nuclear waste, and extreme poverty in the some parts of the world (Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia) are further issues to be investigated. While revolutionary discourse attracts some fraction of academia, large fractions of people give support to right-wing, anti-EU-parties all over Europe. Post-truth politics is ascending worldwide. Facing such challenges, leftist revolutionaries must pretend to be part of the solution or "are" the solution. How trustworthy are such pretentions? What can revolutionaries offer politically to a full liberal and deliberative democracy? As far as I am familiar with the writings of revolutionary intellectuals, I see lofty visons but I do not see any strategic programs of how to cope with major challenges. It might well be the case that the new revolutionary doctrines are rather another part of the problems we face. Many years ago, I believed that it is easy to affirm a given political and economic order and quite hard to be critical against it. Meanwhile, I tend to believe the opposite. At least, there are some non-trivial question marks to be made against the new revolutionary discourse.

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[15] The author has organized several citizen juries. One of them tackled the wicked problem of how to dispose of high-radioactive nuclear waste.

[16] Prominent writers also reclaim post-war ideas of Alexander Kojéve, as Agamben (2013) did in his worrisome essay "Que l'Empire latin contre-attaque". In this essay, Agamben combines Huntington's "clash of cultures" theory with the European financial crisis in a suggestive way: The Roman-Latin-Catholic-Mediterranean culture should strike back against the Anglo-Saxon-Protestant-"Prussian" culture of Northern Europe. This culture is now represented by "Syriza" and "Prodemos".

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THE CAPABILITY APPROACH AND REBELLION IN MODERN AND PREMODERN CONTEXTS

ABSTRACT

This paper provides a philosophical discussion of the character and relevance for archaeology of the so-called capability approach developed by the Indian economist Amartya Sen. The paper explains the manner in which the capability approach views human well-being and traces its implications for the understanding of human unwell-being and potential culmination in social unrest or rebellion for archaeological contexts. One of the chief challenges discussed in this paper is the plausibility of using modern cases and theories (such as the capability approach) to advance an archaeological understanding of premodern and archaic societies.

INTRODUCTION

One of the standard tools of archaeological interpretation has effectively become the ethnoarchaeological practice of drawing analogies from anthropological and ethnographic cases to archaeological cases. While debates have been carried out about the solidity of such analogies (e.g. Gramsch 2000), when used skilfully, they can be illuminating as much as they are both natural and indispensable to archaeology and probably to human reasoning more generally. However, a view implicit in ethnoarchaeological practice seems to be that the earliest cases, from which one may plausibly draw analogies to help archaeological interpretation, are not to be found in the modern world, but in the remnants of the now largely disappeared premodern world revealed to us in anthropological and ethnographic studies of tribal societies and groups. This leaves a commentator, such as myself, in a bit of a lurch, engaged as I have been primarily with modern examples – for instance, the modern human relationship to nature characterised by industrialism and consumerism (Arponen 2013; 2014). If the modern and the premodern worlds are so dissimilar, how can perspectives on human existence developed in modern contexts ever be useful in premodern, archaeological contexts?

In Vesa Arponen et al. (2016), some colleagues and I have taken the first steps towards developing the so-called capability approach for the purposes of archaeological interpretation. The capability approach is a philosophical view about the fundamental nature of human welfare and has been, since the late 1970s, in continuous development by the Nobel Prize winning economist Sen. The approach is by now a highly esteemed and much discussed framework (see Nussbaum/Sen 1993). It has been applied in a range of studies of modern human welfare, for instance, in a good number of indices on global human, gender and poverty development compiled and published annually by the United Nations Development Program[1]. What, if anything, can a view primarily engaged with the modern world tell us about premodern, prehistoric times? In this article, I want to attempt to answer this question by discussing a number of themes arising from the capability approach particularly in the context of philosophical and archaeological inquiries.

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[1] See [http://hdr.undp.org/en/data/map] [April 20, 2015].

This article also has a second purpose. In 1979 during a public lecture delivered at Stanford University, Sen gave one of the earliest accounts of the capability approach, a contribution that quickly acquired the status of a modern classic. The lecture titled "Equality of What?" sought to show that, despite two millennia of highly sophisticated political philosophy and ethical theory, most of the time we had seen inequality as primarily a problem in the distribution of human possessions, while failing to place human doings and beings in the centre of our analyses, and that we therefore did not really understand phenomena such as equality and inequality all that well. Regardless of whether one ultimately agrees with Sen, his work nevertheless illustrates the urgent need to reflect on the nature of these concepts. The archaeological study of inequality constitutes no exception to this challenge and yet, to my knowledge, the capability approach has never been applied in archaeology. I genuinely believe that archaeology can benefit from Sen and the second purpose of this article is an attempt to illustrate this.

THE CAPABILITY APPROACH: THE BASIC IDEA

The basic insight embodied in the capability approach is that human well-being is ultimately a matter of what an individual or a group is able to do and to be in life rather than what humans possess or have (Sen 1980; 2004; 2012). In other words, human well-being is fundamentally connected with our opportunities and chances in life, with having a perspective in life, with playing a meaningful role in life. Conversely, I would argue that human unwell-being and issues, such as inequality, social unrest and rebellion, if you will, can also be viewed as matters of capability deprivation.

Many might find the emphasis on doings and beings in the evaluation of good human life intuitively plausible, for it is often said that a good life is about more than money, income and possessions. Rather, many would say that a good life is a meaningful life comprising meaningful activities (work, hobbies) and relationships to other people (family, friendships, love). That is, a good life is not solely about havings but it is also and perhaps fundamentally about beings and doings or functionings, to use Sen's terminology. That said, many would argue that a certain level of havings, namely a certain level of financial security, is necessary for good life. Sen's response to a point like this fully acknowledges that certain havings, such as money or the lack of it in poverty, are an important factor limiting somebody's doings and beings in life (Sen 1999). Yet, Sen's fundamental point stands: havings are at most a means (*Mittel*) for the more important end (*Zweck*) of having certain capabilities in life. In other words, financial security is a means for a better life, but for the most of us, possessions are not an end in themselves. By implication, to understand what a good life is one ought to look beyond mere possessions to doings and beings.

In the academic context, Sen's approach can be contrasted with a number of influential positions on the nature of human well-being. A long-standing position denoted as utilitarianism, first explicitly articulated in the works of such early modern classic philosophers such as John Stuart Mill and Jeremy Bentham, elevated the maximisation of utility (for the greatest number of relevant actors) as the guiding principle when thinking about such things as the right, morally permissible action and, by implication, when thinking about more general themes such as the nature of good society. The classic criticism of utilitarianism (famously articulated, e.g., in Rawls 1971) built upon the intuition that certainly the precise character of the maximised utilities as well as their equal distribution also ought to be relevant issues when thinking about the above-mentioned questions.

Sen's innovation here, however, resides in locating the crux not in the good stuff that the greatest number (utilitarianism) or everyone equally (John Rawls) ought to have, but that people ought to be (made) capable in certain ways to make something of their own lives. We see that Sen fundamentally changes the terms of discussion from goods (of whatever kind) and their distribution to capabilities of doing and being in life (cf. Cohen 2004 for an excellent exposition of these themes.)

As noted by Gerald A. Cohen, the notions of capabilities and doings and beings can be seen to be comprised of a number of separate considerations. 1) Critical capabilities: one ought to be capable in certain critical ways (e.g. to be in control of one's own future); 2) critical states: one ought to be capable of getting into certain critical states to be capable in certain further ways (e.g. to be adequately nourished in order to be capable of doing anything else in life); 3) critical goods: one ought to have access to certain critical goods to be able to get into certain states and further one's capabilities (e.g. access to food to be able to nourish oneself and therefore be capable of other things in life). Armed with such an array of critical aspects of human existence, the capability approach is an incredibly flexible framework for thinking about human well-being and unwell-being, and I believe its utility for archaeological purposes also resides here. Sometimes in what follows I will, for brevity's sake, speak of capabilities, meaning, however, all three aspects distinguished here.

THE CAPABILITY APPROACH: SOME CONNECTIONS

Many will know the famous 16th century fresco by Raphael, known as The School of Athens. The fresco depicts a large number of Ancient Greek philosophers, but in the centre stage we observe the figures of Aristotle and Plato. Plato's extended index finger points up to the skies while Aristotle's hand, with its palm facing down, makes a "steady, down on the ground" kind of gesture. These gestures signal a fundamental difference in the philosophical orientations of these two great thinkers. Platonic philosophy is associated with a focus upon the world of universal ideas, principles and concepts, while Aristotelian philosophy is about the actual, practical and the concrete. Sen has referred to Aristotle as one of the chief intellectual influences behind the capability approach (Sen 1999; 2012; Nussbaum 1990).

While Aristotle may not always have been a major influence behind the following 'schools' of philosophical thought, a number of major intellectual movements of the 20th and the 21st centuries arguably share the Aristotelian focus on the actual, practical and the concrete. American pragmatism, stemming from philosophers, such as John Dewey and Wilfrid Sellars, as well as prominent contemporary proponents, for example, Robert Brandom (1994), viewed traditional philosophical topics of interest, such as human knowledge, as fundamentally pragmatically orientated, context-tied phenomena.

A more recent intellectual orientation describable as distinctly Aristotelian in flavour is the so-called practice theory. The roots of practice theory are commonly traced (Schatzki et al. 2001; Reckwitz 2002; Shove et al. 2012) back to the modern classic theorists Anthony Giddens (1984) and Pierre Bourdieu (1977) as well as further back to Ludwig Wittgenstein (1958) and Martin Heidegger (2000). The practice theorey perspective builds upon the idea that human life is best understood as occurring within the frame provided by practices, i.e. sets of more or less established and intertwined human doings and sayings.

In my view, the capability approach is able to draw support and intuitive plausibility from similar lines of reasoning such as in pragmatism and practice theory. In all these views, the human being appears, universally across time, as a pragmatic being existing in and through the kinds of things we do that are shaped and orientated by the realities of that doing. In fact, one might think of archaeology in some ways as an inherently 'Aristotelian discipline'. After all, archaeologists are often engaged with figuring out the very basic facts about the form of life, group or society they study, that is how and where humans lived and what they did for a living?

These considerations take me to one more intellectual ally of the capability approach, namely Karl Marx's philosophy. Marx's philosophy famously involves placing a heavy emphasis upon human activities related to the real, material basis of human existence (for a concise statement cf. *Die Deutsche Ideologie / The German Ideology*, in particular, Marx/Engels 2007: section A. Idealism and Materialism). The human being is (able to be) what he or she is in and through the kinds of activities he or she is engaged in. In what seems to me to be a striking parallel to the capability approach, Marx conceived the utopian (communist or socialist) state as one in which each person would be able to realize their potential in and through their actions. For Sen, such a realization is a matter of providing everyone with whatever capability sets of doings and beings that are deemed necessary for their flourishing – what people go and make out of their sets is left to their own initiative. In Marx, the emphasis lies elsewhere: people ought to be unhampered by problematic structures of ownership of the means of human activities. Thus, in capitalist societies, all evil flows from private ownership being the dominant form of ownership, Marx argues. Yet, the foundational thought is the same: social affairs ought to be organized such that people are capable of organizing and living out their own lives in and through their practical activities.

THE CAPABILITY APPROACH AND THE ARCHAEOLOGY (OF REBELLION)

I understand the keyword of this volume, that of rebellion, as a catch-all term for all forms of social unrest and conflict. I believe the capability approach to be particularly well-suited in aiding the archaeological analysis of the reasons behind such negative social transformations. In this section, I want to illustrate some of the ways in which the capability approach can support archaeological interpretation.

In Arponen et al. (2016), colleagues and I put the capability approach to use in order to understand the dramatic social transformation centred around certain events in the Late Neolithic Bosnian tell site of Okolište from the founding of the site around 5200 BCE to its abandonment around 4600 BCE. To cut a long archaeological story short (for more details see Müller et al. 2011; 2013; Arponen et al. 2016), in this prehistoric settlement we think we were able to identify certain monopolies of critical weaving and food processing related goods operated by particular dominant groups (associated with certain alpha houses). By virtue of these monopolies over certain critical goods, the alpha houses appear to have been able to exert a controlling influence upon the critical states and critical capabilities of other groups in the settlement and possibly beyond. Over time, some sort of a 'rebellion' (social unrest or conflict) appears to have occurred, culminating in repeated burnings of the alpha houses (possibly not due to attacks but of ritualistic character) which coincides with a dramatic decline in the overall settlement size.

Even though the capability approach is a framework developed specifically with modern world problems in mind, we easily see that its notions of critical goods, states and capabilities can plausibly be applied in prehistoric contexts as well. In so far as people in any historical time have cared about their own and their group's well-being, opportunities and perspectives in life, the capability approach is applicable in such contexts. Moreover, as modern times are often thought of as an epoch of individualism in contrast to collectivism fundamentally pertaining to premodern times (Geertz 1974), the capability approach must not be understood to concern individual capabilities only, but one may very well think in terms of capabilities of groups, families, tribes and whatever.

From the perspective of the archaeology of rebellion, our explanation of the events in Okolište distinguishes itself in a number of ways. We consider the developments at Okolište to relate to social inequalities in that society. Traditionally, archaeological thought has tended to associate social inequality with social hierarchies (Price/Feinman 1995; 2010; Bowles et al. 2010; Flannery/Marcus 2012). Signs of hierarchies are, of course, relatively easy to spot in the archaeological record (in unequal grave goods, prestige objects, architecture, etc.). In such a perspective, inequality is understood as an organizing principle of human social existence, which can be intensified by necessity with the growing complexity (meaning growing rank differences) of groups and societies.

In the perspective of the capability approach, however, in so far as the dramatic events in Okolište relate to human unwell-being as they most likely do, these events can be best understood to signalize critical goods, states and capability deprivation of certain groups relative to others. Certainly, we observe social hierarchies at Okolište: arguably, the alpha house groups rank higher compared to most others in the settlement and perhaps even in the wider area. In addition, it is only in these alpha houses that we find certain figurine objects, indicating perhaps the associated prestige and the concentration of ritual activities in these houses. Yet, as argued in the previous section, according to the capability approach, to get at the root of human unwell-being at Okolište, we are well advised to look beyond mere hierarchical differences to their consequences for human doings and beings, that is, to the consequences of hierarchies with regard to people's access to critical goods, states and capabilities. In the case of Okolište, the alpha house monopolies influenced critical states, goods and capabilities in such a way that social disruption seems to have eventually followed.

As we have seen, Sen distinguishes between the unequal distribution of rank as well as income and consumption from the capabilities and capability deprivations that these unequal distributions might imply. This distinction challenges us to think of ways in which the two terms of the distinction may be combined in actual historical cases. For example, have there been societies and groups with high rank or income inequality but with no problematic capability deprivations?

One might argue, for instance, that heterarchical societies and groups are examples of potentially ranked societies without the consequent capability deprivation. One of the chief developers of the notion in archaeology, Carole Crumley, noted a modern example of a heterarchical relationship: "three cities might be the same size but draw their importance from different realms: one hosts a military base, one is a manufacturing centre, and the third is home to a great university" (Crumley 1995, 3). Basically, what Crumley seems to be describing here is a situation distinguished by a division of labour, a general type of situation that probably pertained to most prehistoric contexts, too. One can further imagine that the system with a division of labour is further governed by some higher authority and, hence, that the system is ranked. Yet, due to the specialised roles played by each element in the system, these elements may well find that they play a meaningful role and enjoy future perspectives. Heterarchical relationships might thus be one context in which the significance of Sen's distinction between distributional inequalities (of rank, income, etc.) and capability deprivations comes out the best. At the very least, Sen's distinction encourages us to think about the relationship of the distinguished terms in each given case and thereby to analytically conceptualise and understand such cases better.

There is a related modern case for which, I believe, the capability approach provides a particularly plausible angle and from which we might want to look for ways to move on to prehistoric cases. As briefly as possible, let me explain the outlines of the case before relating it to archaeological concerns.

It is widely recognised that modern developed societies have been gradually evolving from industrial and manufacturing societies to service societies roughly since the 1970s. One aspect of this is the process of deindustrialisation. In the literature, this is defined as the process of the share of manufacturing jobs declining among all jobs in an economy (Rowthorn/Ramaswamy 1997). In practice, deindustrialisation has meant the gradual decline and disappearance of mass-employing industries such as mining, steel and car industries from the *Ruhrpott* in Western Germany, the automotive and associated industries from major US cities such as *Detroit*, or the decline of the paper industry in the present author's home country Finland, to mention just a few examples. With the decline of these mass-employing industries, whole communities have practically disappeared as is dramatically shown in the case of Detroit's population plunging from 2 million in the 1960s to 700000 today (Doucet 2013).

While the outsourcing of production to countries of cheap labour is a factor, others have argued (Autor/Dorn 2013) that the chief culprit is the increasing automatisation of jobs that have a routine character, a phenomenon we also find in the disappearance of a range of clerical jobs due to new technologies automatizing the routine processes involved in these jobs: in the banking industry, for example, automated online processes have replaced humans in the relatively well-paying but routine-like clerical jobs. Taking place across a range of different jobs, the effects are cumulative and significant. Both deindustrialization and the automatisation of clerical work contribute to what is talked about as the decline or crisis of the middle classes (Lanier 2013; Luce 2012) in so far as the wide-spread and stable, moderately high level of well-being marking the existence of the post-war middle classes has been based upon being in a steady, moderately well-paying, mass-employing job (Elsenhans 2012). In turn, these processes relate to what is known as job polarization: in the US as well as all European countries, we witness growth both in low-pay, low-skill jobs as well as in high-pay, high-skill jobs, while the moderate middle is in significant decline (Autor/Dorn 2013).

Now, the cases described above involve, of course, inherently modern phenomena rich in forms of social organisation that presumably cannot, as such, be found in the premodern world. Yet, I would argue that the underlying logic is one we can plausibly find in the premodern world as well and I would like to suggest that the capability approach provides an inherently plausible angle in order to understand what is troublesome about the described modern developments. Basically, deindustrialisation represents a form of breakdown in the division of labour. Someone's loss of position in the division of labour often means a loss in future perspectives and a meaningful role in society. In other words, these phenomena lead to capability deprivations for a growing portion of people in the contemporary world and, arguably, it is via that route that they begin to have socially disruptive consequences. In fact, the recent Europe-wide rise of populist nationalistic political movements can, to a significant degree, be attributed to the disenfranchisement of certain population groups in deindustrialisation, the decline of the middle classes, and job polarization. In a highly thought-provoking recent report published by the esteemed Chatham House on the rise of a good number of European populist extremist parties, the author, the British political scientist Matthew Goodwin, summarised the support base of the most successful of these parties all across Europe saying: "[t]he most successful parties have rallied a coalition of economically insecure lower middle-class citizens and skilled and unskilled manual workers" (Goodwin 2011, x; see also Ford/Goodwin 2014). That is precisely the group most affected by deindustrialisation, the decline of the middle classes and job polarization.

How could such capability deprivation through disenfranchisement in the division of labour be understood in prehistoric contexts? Let us imagine a settlement with a given level of internal labour division and an external disruptive influence, say, in the form of changing environmental conditions or external competition, disenfranchising a given element in the system of the division of labour. Conceivably, egalitarian social structures, the tribe or the like, might absorb some of the external shock similar to how in a modern context the social welfare system or perhaps family and relatives might provide help as well as continue to accommodate the disenfranchised as part of the community. Yet, the disenfranchised will likely feel that they are without prospects and without effective control and direction in life, which in turn might feed into some form of social discontent. In addition to critical capability deprivations identified in the case of Okolište, looking for signs of the dismantling of a system of division of labour in the archaeological record might be another door through which the capability approach may enter archaeological interpretation.

CONCLUSION

I hope to have illustrated a number of ways in which notions, deriving essentially from human scientific analyses of the contemporary world, can help us to think about the distant, prehistoric past. In my thinking, the capability approach could be viewed as an attempt to bridge at least some of the perceived gulf between the modern and the premodern human being implicit in ethnoarchaeological practice. The capability approach sees the human being fundamentally as a practical being, across time and cultural differences, concerned with a meaningful and active existence as an individual or as a member of a group.

Pretty much across the board, human scientific theory of the past 50 years has been deeply opposed to any form of dualist thinking. The perceived gulf between the modern and the premodern human being might turn out to be another such dualism. That there is such a gulf has been polemically questioned in a book by the anthropologist Gananath Obeyesekere:

> *"The idea of the prelogical or childlike native, or one who lives in a 'cold' society [Lévi Strauss], or given to unreflective traditional thought, or governed by a rigid cosmic or mythic world picture, is the social scientists' myth of the Other. Whatever form the myth takes, it must explicitly or implicitly postulate a radical disjunction between Western self and society and those of the preindustrial world. By contrast I want to render fuzzy these binary distinctions […]"*
>
> (Obeyesekere 1997, 16*).*

When making the argument about the effects of this 'myth of the Other' on our understanding of other premodern societies, Obeyesekere critically discussed Marshall Sahlins' views on the reaction of the Hawaiians to the expedition of James Cook in 1779. In the often told story, the Hawaiians allegedly mistook Cook for a divinity of theirs, which Obeyesekere sees as another instance of the myth having us think of the Hawaiians as "given to unreflective traditional thought" and "governed by a rigid cosmic or mythic world picture" such that they mistake Cook for a god. In his book (published originally in 1992), Obeyesekere tells his own version of Cook's encounter with the Hawaiians to which Sahlins provided a book length reply (Sahlins 1995). In turn, Obeyesekere replied to this in a new afterword (Obeyesekere 1997, VIII). Obeyesekere's point of view is thus far from uncontroversial, yet it raises interesting questions about how much of a gulf there in fact exists between modern and premodern human beings and how much of that is our own making.

The capability approach might offer a way of bridging this gulf by the thought that, through history, the human being has always been a practical being displaying intentionality and ambition as well as a desire for control and safety in its everyday conduct. Such abstract notions will always manifest themselves within particular, historical contexts and circumstances. Yet, capabilities and capability deprivation deal with a certain human base line of existence such that the logics of transformation that the base line suggests can plausibly be found in modern as well as premodern groups and societies. Moreover, the idea that such human base line orientations are to be sought in the forms of human doing and being (rather than having) constitutes the lasting core of the highly original and inspiring insight behind Sen's capability approach.

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BETWEEN EVASION AND REVOLUTION: TOWARDS AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF REBELLION IN ANCIENT WESTERN ASIA

ABSTRACT

This paper sets the notion of "rebellion" in relation to terms such as evasion and revolution. It argues that rebellion is a particular type of (mostly unsuccessful) resistance in societies with institutionalized power. No analysis of such kinds of resistance can be complete without an understanding of the specific types of "governmentalities" against which they work. I discuss these complex relations with reference to Eric Hobsbawm's writings and illustrate them with a modern example from Afghanistan. Archaeology is at pains to produce positive evidence for insurgents and rebellious groups. I try to show by way of an example from the Neo-Assyrian period in northern Mesopotamia that we need to take a different approach. We need to read between the lines of archaeological evidence in order to detect signs of insurrection. Governmental policies, such as forced settlement, are not just plans of a ruling power to exploit, but mirror threats of peripheral insubordination.

INTRODUCTION

"I'd prefer not to", says Bartleby, the central figure in Hermann Melville's famous short story, whenever he is asked to do something for his boss in a small lawyer's office on Wall Street. Lately, this literary figure has attracted the attention of philosophers and political theorists alike. The intense interest that this story has raised comes from Bartleby's way of resisting conditions of life in what Germans call a *Leistungsgesellschaft* ("achievement society"). The clerk, Bartleby, does not verbally abuse anyone, he does not physically attack his superior, and he does not show any active forms of resistance; rather, he simply and calmly states that he "prefers" not to do something, without implying that he would really not do so if forced or threatened.

This story has been interpreted in various ways. For Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (Hardt/Negri 2000, 204), Bartleby's sentence is the "point zero of resistance", a "beginning of liberatory politics, but it is only a beginning". At first sight, it might be astonishing that one of the last Leninists of our age, Slavoj Žižek, takes issue with this perspective and denounces it as vulgar. For him, Bartleby's sentence is the most effective stance against a capitalist system that is otherwise able to swallow everything and anything, digest resistance and regurgitate it as a profitable commodity (Žižek 2006, 381–384). How else could we understand the ubiquitous Che Guévara T-shirts? What, if not the commodification of fundamental alternatives to capitalism, is behind the growth of huge energy conglomerates in the realm of wind and solar energy? Is not the MTV award for the "most memorable Occupy Wall Street song" the end of its independence? Sadly, even some elements of the memorialization of the Holocaust seem to have fallen prey to these tendencies[1]. For Žižek, Bartleby's answer marks the only effective position of retraction from capitalism because it is utterly uncommodifiable.

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[1] See the highly disputed book by Norman Finkelstein (2000).

Paolo Virno, a post-operaist colleague of Hardt and Negri, echoes Žižek's view in attributing to the act of withdrawal the stance of resistance *par excellence*. He states in his exceptionally lucid *Grammar of the Multitude* that "nothing is less passive than the act of fleeing, of exiting" (Virno 2004, 70). Virno explicitly refers to the exodus in the Old Testament as an act of resistance. Others focus more on the complex grammatical structure of Melville's figure. Giorgio Agamben (1999), for instance, is less interested in the refusal or withdrawal of Bartleby than in his way of saying "I would prefer not to", not simply "I do not want to". The wording is not just passive, but deeply ambiguous. It does not even imply a clear refusal. It is a stance that refuses to take a stance. According to this reading, Bartleby does not have a standpoint on whether to withdraw from labor, life and duties.

Why does this figure and its indecisive way of saying "no" fascinate contemporary thinkers? Is not the focus on Bartleby a reflection of our own condition? Do we need to interpret this paradoxical standpoint as a disenchantment of the political, a tendency towards inactivism and the replacement of utopia by dystopia (Assheuer 2013)? Or is this interpretation a superficial reading? Post-operaists, such as Virno, value a metaphorical or actual exodus, as they consider it the one response to all-encompassing capitalist lifeways that literally opens no other adequate response to the system than withdrawal: any active insurgency will ultimately be creatively inserted in the capitalist system and turned into a surplus-generating commodity.

On the other hand, Hardt and Negri are not the only ones to object to this passivist view of possible resistance and rebellion. Crisso and Odoteo (2002), in their *Barbari. L'insorgenza disordinata,* rail against Negri, but only because they find the kind of resistance Negri himself proposes too civilized, harmless, dull. Others from the anarchist as well as from the dogmatic Marxist left come up with similar positions (Comité Invisible 2007; Hessel 2011).

I begin with Bartleby and the notions of exodus and evasion primarily in order to clarify the vocabulary used in the remainder of the paper. "Resistance" has been criticized by anthropologists as a catch-all term referring to any working against a dominant system (Brown 1996). However, Michael F. Brown advocates a simplistic understanding of a complex political-cultural field. Resistance includes Bartleby's metaphorical exodus and the many instances of "voting with the feet", the one term found relatively often in archaeological literature (Johnson 1987, 139; Pool 2007, 135)[2]. Withdrawal is one facet of resistance, and the anthropologist James C. Scott (1985; 1990) has devoted his academic life to doing research on such "foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage" (Scott 1985, XVI). Such practices, like all other movements of resistance, are characterized by an unwillingness to negotiate and to find a compromise with more powerful entities.

Another type of resistance is the active uprising against conditions perceived as unjust and unbearable. Insurrections and rebellions are a characteristic element of world history, most of them having been launched by peasants. While Friedrich Engels clearly saw their relevance (1973 [1850]), Karl Marx underestimated their importance because their direct outcome was mostly a defeat or an inconclusive end. But there is also a problem of language: many peasant uprisings go unnoticed not only due to their short-lived duration and unsuccessful end. They are also couched in diverse terms such as banditry, racketeering, and warlordism, whereby peasants are variously called robbers, gangsters, etc., when they revolt – by oppressors and academics alike. Unfortunately, the reason for this perception is the loyalist, state-supportive habitus of historians and archaeologists. An exception is Hobsbawm (1959; 2001), whose thesis on "social bandits" was itself an attempt to reverse the associations of "banditry". His work has been all too often neglected by those interested in the workings of state power: such power always exists in a relationship between the state and its adversaries.

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[2] Hans J. Nissen (1980) argues similarly by noting tendencies towards de-sedentarization but without using the notion of "voting with the feet".

A final form of resistance that I would like to mention briefly concerns revolutionary movements which Erich Mühsam (1913) defined as "*Bewegung zwischen zwei Zuständlichkeiten […]. Alle Revolution ist aktiv, singulär, plötzlich und ihre Ursachen entwurzelnd*". I am not primarily concerned here with such fundamental change, one that involves the very basis from which change was launched. "Rebellion", the subject of this volume, is located in a complex political territory that is situated between evasion and revolution.

POWER AND COUNTER-POWER

My brief attempt to outline the three terms "evasion", "rebellion/insurrection" and "revolution" is based on a precondition, namely a framework of institutionalized power. Many if not most societies that archaeologists deal with remain outside this range. Pierre Clastres describes societies that display often violent and disruptive conflict as typical for a condition that aims to prevent the emergence of a habitus of competition and especially the establishment of formally institutionalized inequalities (Clastres 1980, 190–191). Socio- political conditions of institutionalized power, in traditional political anthropology classified as "Big Man" systems, chiefdoms of various kinds, states or empires (Service 1962; Fried 1967), are at the base of those acts of resistance that I mentioned before. In an essay on anarchist anthropology, David Graeber (2004, 24–37) states that "counter-power" does not only develop when militias, resistance movements and other groups, often rated as criminals, terrorists and bandits by power holders, rise up. Graeber follows Clastres' argumentation and calls the often violent means that are mobilized in non-state societies against the emergence of institutionalized power "counter-power". He claims that there is no fundamental difference between counter-power in states and non-states. In my view, however, there is a deep-seated structural difference. Non-state groups that militate against competitive tendencies leading to the establishment of long-term inequalities act with the goal of preserving the *status quo*. Their attempts are "anti-power", not counter-power. However, peasant uprisings, guerilla warfare and other resistance phenomena within states aim for a modification in the *status quo* but not necessarily the complete dissolution of power relations. Here, the notion of counter-power seems appropriate.

Rebellions against institutionalized political powers or counter-power in states are the center of focus here. This leads us immediately to the next problem: not all states are similar in terms of their structures and modes of ruling. But are they similar when it comes to the dialectics of state power and adversarial non-state actors? Unless one is a dehistoricizing political scientist, the answer is obviously "no".

This makes any archaeological investigation of past resistance rather complex. Not only is resistance in almost all forms a materially and spatially "marginal" activity, but we also have to take into account the ways of governing in order to appropriately understand any possible traces of rebellion. Methodologically, there is a positive side to this: state structures and practices can be more easily recognized archaeologically than unruly practices at their edges. I propose here to approach states and their ways of dominating from a Foucauldian perspective of "governmentality" (Foucault 2000). This notion has been productively used in analyses of neoliberalism and institutional practices (see Lemke 1997; Rose 1999; Inda 2005), but has not made major inroads into archaeological discourse and especially not in analyses of ancient states. I restrict my remarks on ancient governmentalities to their spatial dimension. How has rule over space been imagined and practiced? What kinds of materiality accompany these practices? To be precise, such an approach forces us to ask what an ancient state ruled over. Was it subjects? And if so, all subjects within a certain territory? Were marginal groups considered to be among the ruled? Or was territory the main issue in governing? Or economic resources? Military bridgeheads? Was political rule conceptualized as clearly bounded or were fuzziness and marginalities part and parcel of a historically specific governmentality?

The investigation of such questions would be worthwhile for many ancient polities. However, it presupposes a strong top-down way of thinking, even if defenders of Michel Foucault try to de-emphasize this side of governmentality studies (Lemke 2010). Since I am interested here in movements against ruling bodies and, more problematically, those in archaeological cases, I restrict myself to a few reflections on different kinds of spatialities in past practices of ruling.

Historians and archaeologists have often been fooled into imagining a territorial governmentality for past states and empires. Classical writers such as Tacitus, the evidence from the *Limes* and the Chinese Wall, but also researchers' own clear-cut conditions of life within nation-states have led to cartographies of continuous rule over territories. The resulting maps depict ancient states and empires – and even "cultures" that never had institutionalized rule – like a mosaic. An unspoken assumption is the dominance over all subjects that live in or traverse such territories.

One cannot overestimate the influence of modern conditions on such reconstructions. Representational modes in the news media play with and construct the rule over space in radically different ways, with wide-ranging political implications. At present, we witness the establishment of an internationally unrecognized political entity, the so-called Islamic State/Da'esh (variously abbreviated as ISIS or IS). This nemesis of western ideas of a "state" is currently located in the Jazira, the steppe of northeastern Syria and northwestern Iraq between the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers. A radically different governmentality than that of states is imagined by western media for this self-declared caliphate: it is mapped by the *BBC*, *The New York Times* and almost all other media as a thin network, dominating narrow riverine valleys and paths across the steppes, with large, uncontrolled flecks in between. Interestingly, Kurdish rule east of the Islamic State, although also a secession from the recognized Iraqi nation, is routinely depicted as "normal" territorial rule. In striking contrast, maps produced by the Islamic State itself depict the caliphate's grip on space in the tradition of a western governmentality, namely as territorial rule[3].

How likely is it that ancient states had a governmentality that equated territory with a container for subjects of the state? What were the spatial concepts and practices of ruling? I contend that power in ancient states and empires was in almost all cases conceptualized as the rule over a network of nodes and routes. Governing was decidedly not a matter of controlling people within the limits of a clearly outlined territory. Foucault (1981) himself traces the genealogy of current governmentalities partly back to ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt. From the royal titles, he extracts the meaning "pastoral power", since one important metaphor for the ruler was that of a shepherd[4]. According to Foucault, this expressed an understanding of rule as the care for subjects during the entirety of their lives, and included the potential sacrifice of the shepherd for the herd (see also Lemke 1997, 152–155). This understanding of governing is distinctly non-territorial: the herd is a moving body of subjects, thought of as single entities but not as an emplaced and firmly anchored community. The herd moves along paths from watering points to pasture and back. Routes and places that are connected by such routes make up the space of a pastoral power. Attendant governmentalities do not require a technological and ideological apparatus of uninterrupted domination over whole areas. This was simply not desired by ancient power holders. What they wanted to control was the *circulation of people, things, and processes* within a network.

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[3] For a map by the Daily Mail, see: [http://i.dailymail.co.uk/i/pix/2014/09/12/1410533300473_wps_1_Map_of_ISIS_territory_in_.jpg [April 13, 2015]; a BBC map can be found here: http://lawstreetmedia.com/issues/world/crisis-hits-iraq-rise-isis/ [April 13, 2015]; for a map of the Islamic State see: https://cdn.liveleak.com/80281E/ll_a_s/2014/Jul/12/LiveLeak-dot-com-bcc_1405164268-map_1405164264.jpg?d5e8c-c8eccfb6039332f41f6249e92b06c91b4db65f5e99818bdd59e4441dfd7c21d&ec_rate=230]. [April 13, 2015].

[4] For an account from the Assyriological-iconographic side see Mattias Karlsson (2013, esp. 162–168).

Different governmentalities produce widely divergent concepts of spatial domination. Power over territories and power over networks are alternatives with fundamental consequences for political thought and action. The first conceptualizes the realm of control as static, clearly delimited, and composed of quantifiable and localizable entities. Foucault (2003, 239–254) has called the demographic dimension of such regimes "biopolitical". Network power, however, is an attempt to control dynamics and only to a minor extent localities, among them most clearly the nodes in a network. Of great importance for any reconstruction of past resistance are the fringes of network power, since there were no clear limits to the geographic and demographic reach of political influence. Rather, practices of domination were "capillary" (Foucault 2003, 27), and the extent of control in a network may have changed constantly. From our modernist point of view, such regimes are perceived as weak and unable to assert their might. The logic of the western media's cartography of the Islamic State is based on exactly that difference – a graphically rendered wishful thinking.

AFGHANISTAN IN THE SPRING OF 2002

I illustrate conditions of network power with a situation that I encountered myself in Afghanistan subsequent to the U.S. attack on the Taliban in 2001. As a member of a humanitarian organization, I was working for some months in the spring of 2002 in Taloqan in northeastern Afghanistan, then the capital of the province of Takhar. Both the governor of Takhar and the police chief of Taloqan were former mujahedin commanders, who had been members of the Northern Alliance, a coalition of anti-Taliban fighters. Before September 11, the Northern Alliance had lost almost all of its power and had been driven into the utmost northeastern corner of the country. The leader of the coalition, the famed Ahmad Shah Massoud, was killed by Taliban suicide bombers two days before 9/11 (see Tanner 2009, 287). Most of the power holders I encountered in 2002 had fought against the Soviet occupation. These commanders, like so many others, were not necessarily intent on forming the local basis of a new state. Rather, as soon as the Soviet forces began to leave, the mujahedin began to fight amongst themselves, re-grouping in different coalitions. Most of them based their power on a group of loyal men from their own and a few surrounding villages. Changing sides in coalitions depended largely on where the emerging warlords were likely to acquire the best and most effective arms. This, in turn, depended on connections to wealthy business people in Pakistan, who themselves had connections to the United States and other western powers.

Having lost most of their power in the last months of the Taliban regime, these warlords got a second chance in early 2002 when they were bestowed with official posts in hastily mounted state institutions. Thus, they made the switch from bandits in the eyes of the Soviets and insurgents in the eyes of the Taliban to the pillars of an emerging new Afghanistan. I negotiated over humanitarian issues with several of them personally, as well as with villagers and the losers from the post-9/11 change. In this way, I learned that governors, police chiefs and others had not entirely given up their former functions. They held on to their village-based militias, and when it was time to publicly hand over arms to the new central government and President Karzai, they resorted to the strategy of producing a huge public ceremony where they turned over old, often unusable weapons, hiding the really important ones in tunnels, caves and elsewhere.

In Graeber's parlance, these figures, several of whom were assassinated in the following years, tried to have it both ways: to keep their counter-power and to become members of state power themselves. This desire to develop a double, politically paradoxical role was only logical. Loyalty on the part of a militia as the basis for power could be secured in the countryside, in small villages with firm mutual commitments based on genealogy, whereas the cities with their multifarious cultural, ethnic and social composition – with lots of migrants – could not be counted on. But in both roles, the idea of ruling a network was overly clear. In 2002, the main tool of control was the roadblock, both officially and as a way to extort money[5]. Of course, a state official would not admit to such actions, but it was not difficult to identify who was pulling which kinds of strings when kidnapping incidences occurred.

Both Graeber (2004) and Hobsbawm (2001) show that power and counter-power are often linked. One and the same person can start as a Robin Hood and end up as a Margaret Thatcher. However, contrary to these linearized accounts, the situation I experienced was more complex: one and the same person could embody both roles at the same time.

TOWARDS AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF REBELLION

Important contributions to a history of rebellion and resistance are Hobsbawm's two volumes on the figure of the "social bandit" and particularly his elaborations on their political economy. According to Hobsbawm, social bandits mostly derive from a milieu of rural poverty. However, they are exceptions in peasant life because they do not accept their own destitution and repression. The motivation for moving into extra-legal space may not only have its origin in economic reasoning but can also spring from resistance against state ideologies. That was the case in Afghanistan, where the rural movement of the mujahedin gained widespread following when the communist government, intent on redistributing wealth towards the poor, tried to enforce a program of literacy even for the elderly.

Rebels rarely amass a huge amount of possessions, but when they do, their attitude resembles somewhat that of nomads. They convert heavy, voluminous materials into objects that can best be described as "compressed wealth". Hobsbawm (2001) cites the following objects from the police report on the Brasilian bandit Lampiao[6]: gold buttons, medallions, gold and silver coins, embroidered textiles, and of course high value weaponry, in Lampiao's case a gun and a knife, both with gold decoration.

I mention these points because a precondition for identifying rebels and their actions in the past is the elaboration of potential material correlates for those who start or join a group of social bandits. It would be wrong to fall into some sort of romanticism and imagine rebels as ascetic Robin Hoods who redistribute wealth in an entirely unselfish way to the poor. Quite the contrary. Social rebels may well exact tribute from peasant populations. However, there are two main differences between such "taxes" and state taxes. First, the two kinds of tax payments by rural populations compete with each other. In most cases, the state exactions are higher and therefore seen as more unjust than those taken by the rebels. Second, rebels are in most cases anchored socially and genealogically in local communities. In these cases, they are seen as belonging, however remotely, to local populations who sympathize with counter-power rather than power. They see a sign of effective counter-power in a robber's wealth rather than estrangement from their fate of impoverishment (Hobsbawm 1959, 22–23). The Old Testament's figure of David – the robber and criminal, later turned king – is a paradigmatic case for these kinds of relations. Social bandits base their actions not just on their own means, but are supported by people who are less courageous. The latter often develop a paradoxical attitude. They display servility towards the powerful, but combined with disdain for them. The overall habitus is different from what I termed above as "evasion," since showing deference implies that one "plays the game". Subversive desires never surface but rather remain hidden. Scott characterizes such double-faced attitudes as the difference between a "public" and a "hidden transcript", illustrating it with an Ethiopian proverb: "When the great lord passes the wise peasant bows deeply and silently farts" (Scott 1990, front page).

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[5] For an interesting overview of such tactics among the mujahedin, see Ali Ahmad Jalali and Lester W. Grau (2001).

[6] I quote only the description of one piece, the hat, from this report (Hobsbawm 2000, 92): "leather, of the backwoods type, decorated with six stars of Solomon. Leather chinstrap, 46 cm long, decorated with 50 gold trinkets of miscellaneous origin, to wit: collar and sleeve studs, rectangles engraved with the words Memory, Friendship, Homesickness, etc.; rings set with various precious stones; a wedding ring with the name Santinha engraved inside. Attached to the front of the hat, a strip of leather 4 by 22 cm with the following ornaments: 2 gold medallions inscribed 'The Lord Be Thy Guide'; 2 gold sovereigns; 1 old Brazilian piece with the effigy of Emperor Pedro II; 2 others, even older, dates respectively 1776 and 1802. At the back of the hat, a strip of leather of equal size, also decorated as follows: 2 gold medallions, 1 small diamond cut in the classic fashion, 4 others of fancy cut".

Obviously, such kinds of subversiveness do not find their way into materialities of the past. We constantly identify the public, but almost never the hidden transcript. What, then, can we maintain about the archaeological correlates for rebellious groups, the "bandits" themselves? In the first place, such people would perhaps show their presence in what we still erroneously call "prestige goods", such as the objects carried by Lampiao. Gabriel Kuhn (2011, 131) cites Hobsbawm approvingly, saying that overly successful bandits are both admired by the poor and become partners of the wealthy, even to the point of being almost indistinguishable from the latter. If their success does not last, they either revert and re-insert themselves into peasant communities, or they are tortured, imprisoned, and killed (Hobsbawm 2000). The Afghan example shows that such rebels can as well be ambiguous, Janus-faced state actors.

However, instead of relying on the ambiguous materiality of the leaders of rebellious groups, who may in wealth but also attitude be fairly close to state actors, I will in the following try to make the difficult case for the "reverse reading of structural politics". I will try to show how changes in the structure of an archaeologically well-known empire likely reflect the presence of otherwise unnoticeable "social bandits".

ARCHAEOLOGY AND PEASANT INSURRECTIONS: THE NEO-ASSYRIAN CASE

What kinds of archaeological remains can we expect as witnesses of past practices of rebellion and insurrection? I focus here on Assyria, where resistance is attested in textual sources in three ways. Most prominent are palace revolts, mainly at the time of death or murder of a king. Another kind of rebellion is represented by the frequent uprisings of client "kings", who were punished, sometimes extremely harshly, sometimes not. Finally, a few texts describe insurgent attacks by unnamed enemies (*nakru* in Akkadian; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 25). In other cases, more specific practices of hostile groups are indicated, such as attacks by "nomads" during the drilling of wells by Assyrian administrators in the steppe (Cavigneaux/Ismail 1990). Such instances of guerilla resistance against established powers must not be underestimated just because Assyrian texts seem to silence them otherwise.

Of these three kinds of rebellion, the second is well-documented archaeologically. On reliefs, Assyrian kings show in great detail the horrible fate of insurgent power holders from the periphery. The repertoire of Assyrian war crime punishment includes impaling, flaying, beheading as well as more sadistic measures. I do not focus here on those instances, nor on the palace revolts, but rather on the small-scale, countryside uprisings.

If we want to identify this kind of insurrection, we need to refer back to the spatial characteristics of ancient governmentalities. Mesopotamian political power was largely based on networked spaces. Under such conditions, social bandits would have easily retracted into network interstices. In the geographic structure of states and empires, the most vulnerable elements were circulation paths. Ambush tactics could cut networks with minimal effort and produce substantial damage[7]. Already in

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[7] One of the most famous archaeologically identified sites of an ambush is Kalkriese in Northern Germany, presumed to be the location of the Roman army's bitter defeat under Publius Quinctilius Varus in 9 CE (Moosbauer 2009).

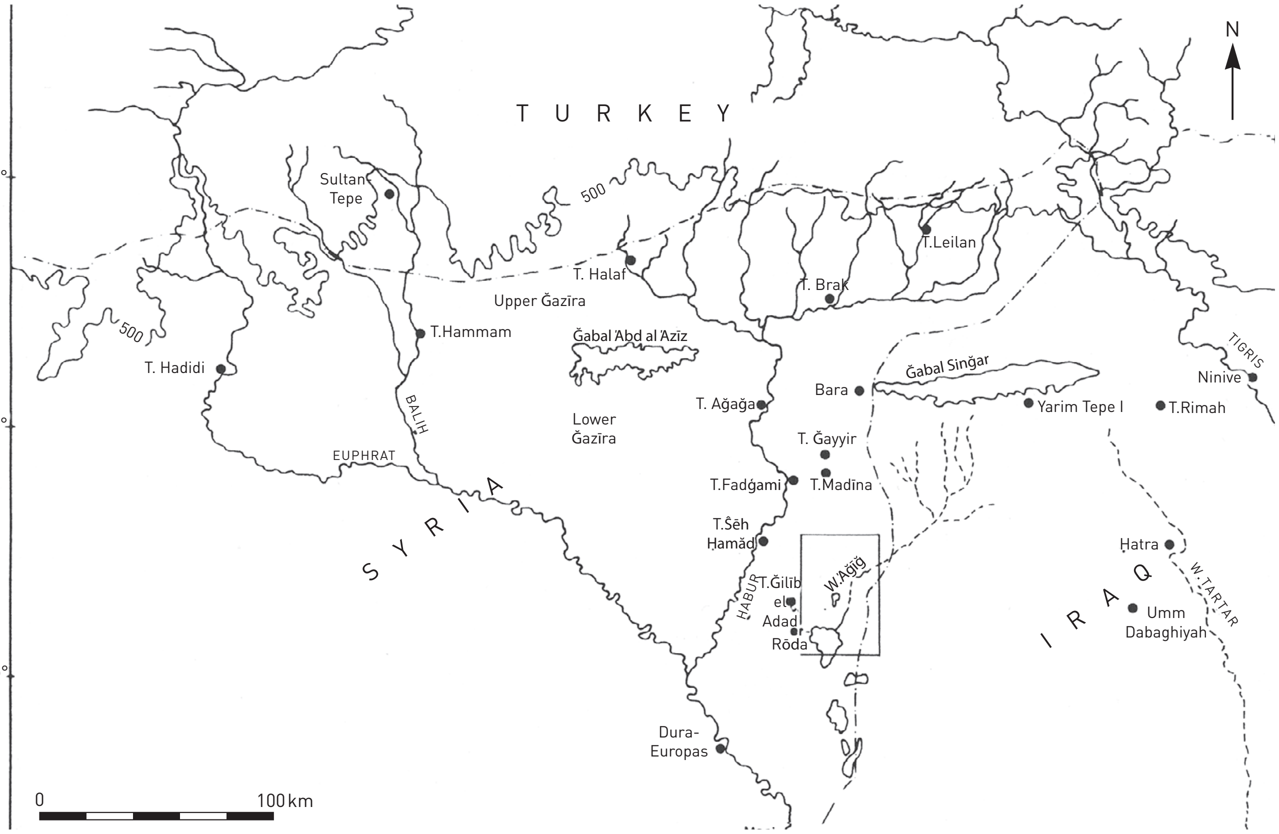
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Fig. 1. Map with the location of the ʿAğīğ region.

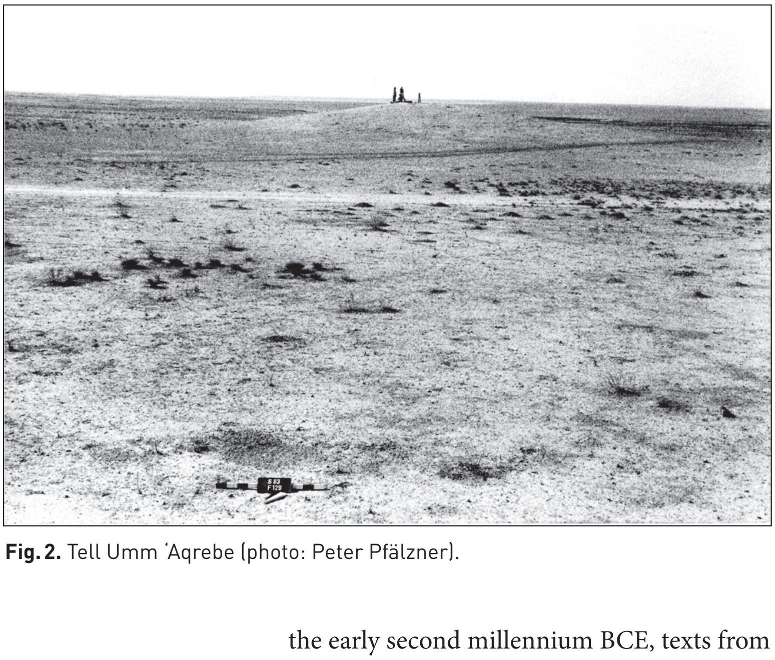

Fig. 2. Tell Umm ʿAqrebe (photo: Peter Pfälzner).

the early second millennium BCE, texts from the Old Assyrian period concerning traders in Anatolia mention the danger of "robbers" along caravan routes (e.g. Veenhof/Eidem 2008, 175). Paragraph 22 of Hammurabi's code stipulates the death penalty for highway robbers. However, there is no archaeological evidence for incidents of robbery nor do we have any clear idea about the identity of these anonymous "bandits" or the reasons for their actions. The texts are firmly anchored in the concerns of the powerful and wealthy.

The Middle Assyrian and early Neo-Assyrian Empires show, according to Mario Liverani, the trappings of a "network empire" (Liverani 1988) with nodes in a network, connectors between the nodes and interstices. Assyrian "nodes" are easily identifiable as cities or castle-like entities with an Assyrian material culture. Connectors were so-called "king's highways" or *harran šarri*. Their existence is known almost entirely from texts, from which it is clear that they could not be used by many people other than the military and mounted messengers.

The expansion of Assyrian imperial power consisted of almost annual military marches into peripheral regions. The Assyrian term *girru*, translated as "military campaign", has a semantic field that includes "way" or "route" (Zehnder 1999, 124–126). The political language of the Assyrians suggests that dominance over peripheries was closely bound up with "circulation control" by temporary intervention, rather than territorial submission. This is also clear from the fact that Assyrians invaded one and the same area repeatedly (Bernbeck 2010).

Archaeologists working on ancient Western Asia have to my knowledge never tried to investigate peasant insurrections, let alone develop appropriate methods to do so. Evidence for such events emerges rather inadvertently and indirectly, as I will try to show in drawing on one of my own fieldwork projects. In 1983, Peter Pfälzner and I carried out a survey in the Eastern Syrian region of the Wadi ʿAğiğ[8], the lower end of a drainage system that reaches into Western Iraq and the Sinjar Mountains (**Fig. 1**; Bernbeck 1993; see also Pfälzner 1984). Its southernmost extension is the salt lake of Bouara (Gremmen/Bottema 1991)[9]. We discovered a few ephemeral sites from different periods ranging from the Late Neolithic to the Early Islamic period. However, the region was ecologically so marginal that no more than two to five small sites existed at any one time, and most of them were likely of a transitory nature. The only exceptions were dated within the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods. In the Middle Assyrian period, the small tell of Umm ʿAqrebe (**Fig. 2**) was identified by Pfälzner (1986; 1993, 89–96 and fig. 10) as part of the official Middle Assyrian state assemblage, based on an evaluation of its pottery collection. He interprets the establishment of a site as the result of a need for a relay station on a royal highway, probably used by the Assyrian army when crossing the steppes from Assur and Kar Tukulti Ninurta to Dur Katlimmu (Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad) on the Ḫābūr River.

The time around the turn of the second to the first millennium BCE, generally called the "Dark Ages", is difficult to identify in the ʿAğiğ region as it is elsewhere. However, in the early first millennium and continuing into the 9th century BCE, Umm ʿAqrebe was still settled, and two additional, very small sites existed in the region. This picture changes radically in the next phase B, provisionally dated to the 8th century BCE on the basis of surface pottery finds[10]. The number of settlements quadrupled to 12 (**Fig. 3**), and a new center with fortifica-

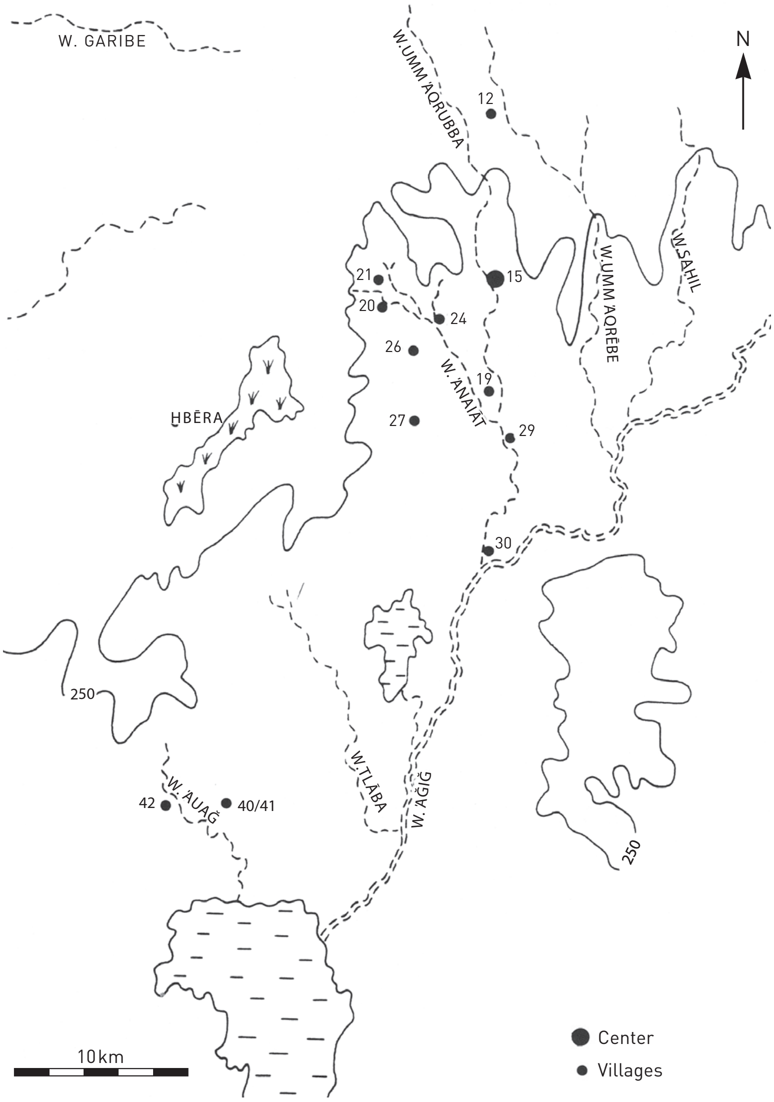

Fig. 3. Map of Phase B (ca. 8th century BCE) settlement in the Ağiğ region.

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[8] The project was part of Kühne's long-term excavations at Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad.

[9] This region is at present the geographic core of the "Islamic State".

[10] Iron Age sites in the ʿAğiğ region were internally subdivided into sub-periods A through C with the aid of a seriation program (Bernbeck 1993, 110–112 fig. 154–155). An updating and perhaps refinement of the chronological scheme are desirable; Kühne (2010, 122) has argued that the later phases B and C – according to the seriation roughly the 8th and 7th centuries BCE – should be lumped.

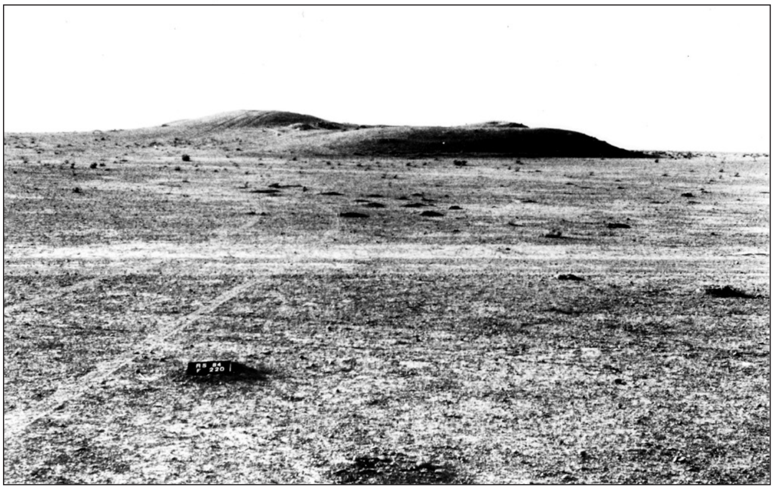

Fig. 4. Tell Umm ʿAqrubba (photo: Peter Pfälzner).

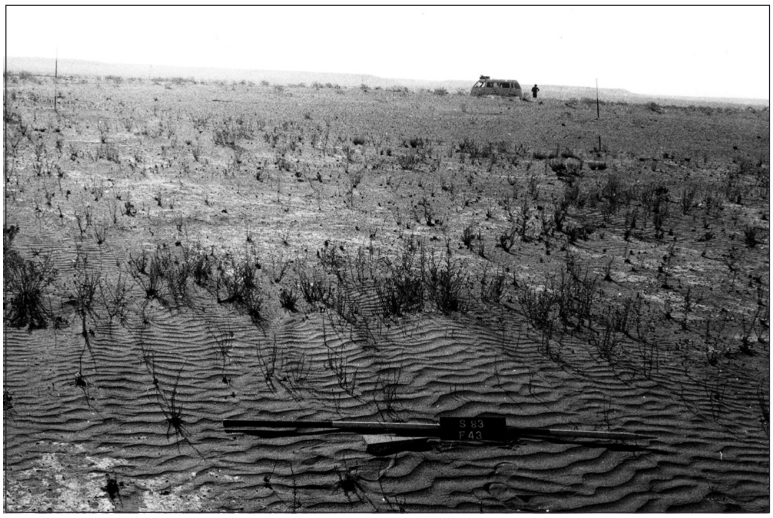

Fig. 5. Arid and sandy environment in the Ağiğ region (photo: Peter Pfälzner).

tion walls, Tell Umm ʿAqrubba, was founded (**Fig. 4**). All newly established sites are located at or close to wadi bottoms on relatively moist land, where a rudimentary agricultural surplus could be generated. An emphasis on farming at these sites is archaeologically indicated by grinding stone fragments (Bernbeck 1993, 126–128 fig. 135). The use of this hyper-arid, mostly salty depression for cultivation could be interpreted as a maladapatation. Why would people try to take the risk of wringing a small agricultural surplus from such an ecologically marginal region (**Fig. 5**)? This was certainly not the result of people settling there freely. This is also clear from the discovery of two stelae in this arid steppe region (**Fig. 6**). One, the so-called Saba'a stela, is dated to 807 BCE and depicts the Assyrian King Adad Nirari III, together with a text that reports on wars in regions further west around present-day Damascus (Unger 1916; Weippert 1992). Adad Nirari III showed great interest in the region between the Tigris and Ḫābūr, as is attested by the second stela from Tell Rimah. Rimah is more favorably located in the eastern Jazira, much closer to the Assyrian core. Adad Nirari's Rimah stela closely parallels the stela from Saba'a. Of interest for our subject is the last part of the text, running over the lower part of the king's clothing, which describes the foundation of 33 small settlements in the steppe surrounding Rimah. Remarkably, this part of the inscription has been chiseled out but is still readable (Page 1968; Kühne/Radner 2008). Textual evidence on this monument of the combination of war and new settlements links the standard Assyrian practice of enemy capture, deportation and forced settlement. While I originally assumed that the settlements, whose names were erased, were close to Tell Rimah, Hartmut Kühne (2010) has argued that the names actually denote the sites identified in the ʿAğiğ region. However one interprets the connections between the Rimah stela and the ʿAğiğ sites, the problem remains why the Assyrian king ordered forced settlements in an area with minimal agricultural productivity (Bernbeck 1999).

From other texts, it is known that Adad Nirari's forefathers were unable to conquer the region of Suḫu south of the ʿAğiğ basin (Oates 1983; Liverani 1992). Such unruly interstices in a network polity might be acceptable in regions at the fringes of an empire, but not close to the imperial core. They constituted a disruptive threat for the control of circulatory power. Even if the production of agricultural surplus was one of the main reasons for the establishment of a regular and dense network of small sites all across the Jazira (Wilkinson et al. 2005), this reason for the establishment of sites should not be generalized. In the ecologically marginal regions of the Jazira, forced settlement was only driven to a minor extent by the goal of exploitation-based agricultural benefits. The main reason for deportee re-settlement was likely an effort at "civilizing" the steppe by creating a dense localized network of docile subjects. As Azer Keskin shows in her ongoing dissertation work[11], deportee subjects were controlled ruthlessly by means of a *divide et impera* strategy of settling peoples from different places in artificial camp-like villages. Possibly the erasure of the names of forced settlements on the Rimah stela's inscription can be interpreted as an act of symbolic defiance against the "capillary extension" of an imperial network of control. Joan Oates (1983, 45–47) mentions the effort at controlling the nearby Euphrates region by establishing heavily fortified sites (see also Masetti-Rouault 2010). Tell Umm ʿAqrubba in the Wadi ʿAğiğ is likely another facet of that policy.

The meshes of a network of political control thickened further in the latest period of the Assyrian Empire, in conformity with the current understanding of the change in Assyria from a polity structured in a network-like fashion to one that tried to enforce durable control over its subjects via a denser, almost continuous coverage of the landscape, considered by the Assyrian rulers and their courts to be part of the imperial core (Postgate 1992). All of the structural changes in the settlement patterns in the ʿAğiğ region suggest explicit politics against unruly groups close to the empire's center. Unfortunately, those ungovernable small groups of people remain unspecific: the combined sources of Assyrian forced resettlement politics and texts, whether inscribed stelae or cuneiform tablets, are only a distant mirror of the adversaries' composition, their lives, experiences, tactics, failures and successes – not to speak of their relations with a sedentary albeit foreign, because deported peasant population.

TOWARDS A HETEROGENEOUS FUTURE OF THE PAST

At present, the archaeology of the Assyrian realm is unable to deliver any insights into actual insurrections, let alone the identity of those implicated. Textual evidence is spotty, one-sided and full of structural silencing. Modern interpretations fail us in their positivist refusal to challenge past silencing – our own historiographic habits rather redouble it: "Presences and absences embodied in sources (artifacts and bodies that turn an event into fact) or archives (facts collected, thematized, and processed as documents and monuments) are neither neutral nor natural. They are created. As such, they are not mere presences and absences, but mentions or silences of various kinds and degrees" (Trouillot 1995, 48). Assuming the non-existence of insurgency in the past because of a lack of evidence, typical of the current mainstream in historiography, is an insult to all subaltern and oppressed subjects of the past. We become prisoners of our own standardized narratives. Historians and archaeologists are willing to assume a tenden-

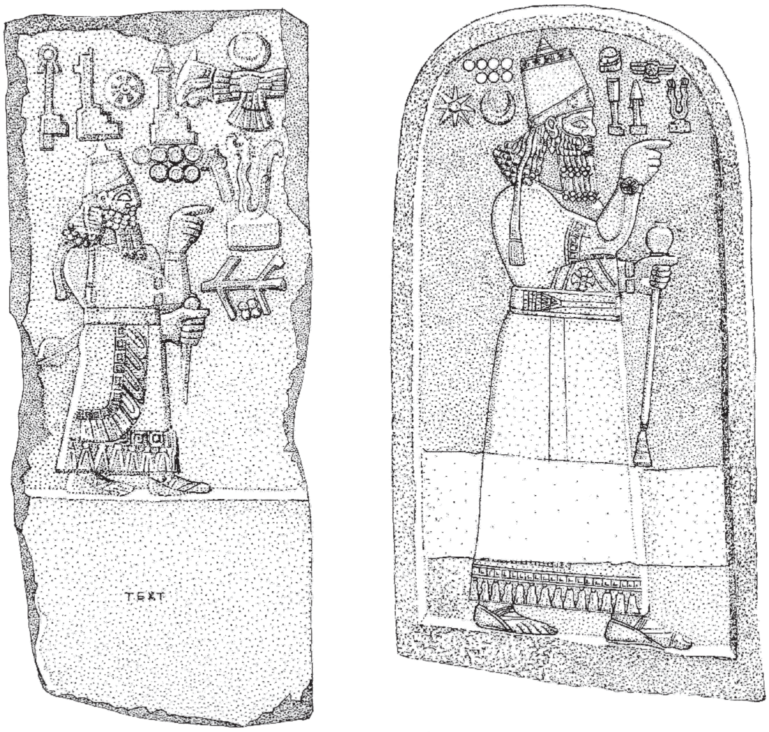

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Fig. 6. Saba'a stela (left) and Rimah stela (right) of Adad Nirari III (drawings after Börker-Klähn 1982, vol. II fig. 163 and 164).

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[11] Keskin (in prep.): "The Archaeology of Forced Migration: the Wadi Ajij in the Neo-Assyrian Period" (working title; PhD thesis in preparation).

cy towards stable hierarchies and system equilibrium, but when it comes to intentions to reverse the *status quo*, or what Michel-Rolph Trouillot has aptly termed the "unthinkable history", we remain skeptical. The reproduction of present idealized governmentalities works through the subtle mechanism of present denial. The assumption is that subaltern people in and of the past did not have intentions for or take initiatives towards a transformation of their own submission. Such a history is bunk.

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2 INEQUALITY AND REBELLION: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

Arne Windler

INCREASING INEQUALITY AND THE ABANDONMENT OF TELL-SETTLEMENTS: THE CASE OF DURANKULAK

ABSTRACT

As two of the most important topics in our society today, economic disparity and social inequality are highly debated. To obtain a comprehensive understanding of the foundations, maintenance and effects of inequality, there has to be an integration of different disciplines: sociology, economics, political science and last but not least archaeology.

Modern measurement tools can be applied to analyze inequality within prehistoric societies. The Gini index as well as General Entropy measurements are used to quantify inequality in the burials of the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic cemetery of Durankulak, lasting from 5200 to 4200 cal BC. The different coefficients suggest decreasing inequality during the first periods of the graveyard, whereas inequality rises rapidly towards the end of the Chalcolithic sequence. The development of inequality is negatively associated with the occurrence of different resources and the economic growth and decline within the graveyard. Times with declining inequality are associated with economic growth, whereas the economy shrinks during the last period. The steep increase in social inequality as well as economic decline might be two of the main reasons for the collapse of Chalcolithic societies around 4100 cal BC in Durankulak, but also in other Southeastern European regions.

INTRODUCTION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF INEQUALITY AND ITS RELATION TO SOCIETAL CHANGE

The rise and development of inequality and its affiliation to conflict are important topics in modern sociological, economic and political science literature: this discussion is not only of interest within a scientific framework but the social implications are also essential (e.g. Piketty 2014). In this context, archaeological sources and the consideration of long periods are necessary to gain a comprehensive understanding of the foundations of inequality, its development and its group effects (e.g. Windler et al. 2013). However, to outline a holistic view on inequality, there has to be a connection between archeology, the analysis of modern societies and the development of income or consumption.

There is a debate about the consequences of income inequality and its negative as well as positive effects. On the one hand, one positive effect influencing inequality, which is discussed, can be observed in economic growth from which even poor people should benefit. It is contended that if the richest people increasingly obtain more income, economic growth could be a subsequent effect and in the end, money is assumed to trickle down to poor households (for a critical discussion see Stiglitz 2012). On the other hand, there is also a discussion concerning rising inequality and its potential to undermine economic growth as well as its connection to internal conflicts within a society. The negative effect of inequality on economic growth was shown by an OECD report in 2014 (Cingano 2014).

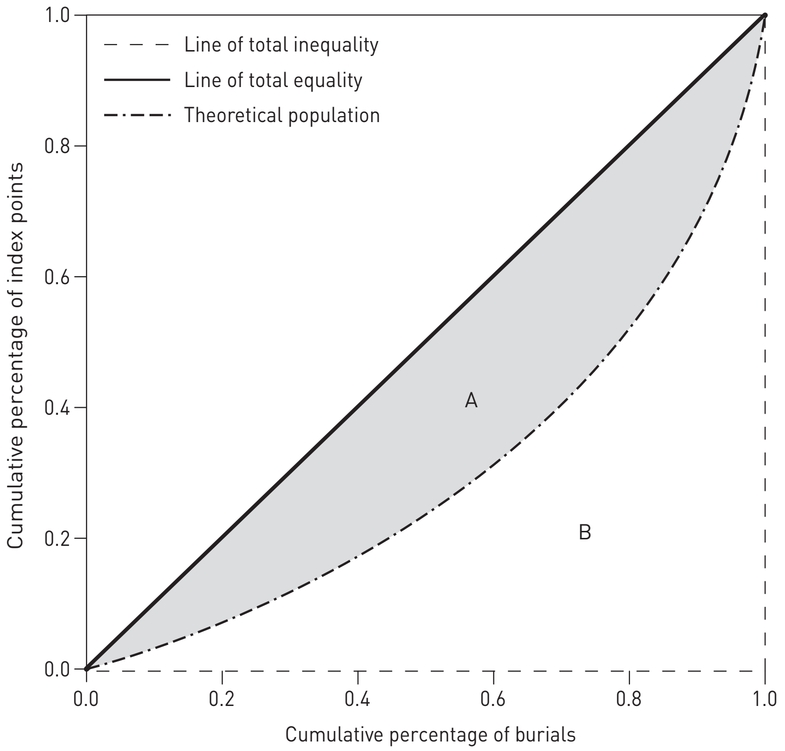

Fig. 1. A theoretical Lorenz curve. A/(A+B) equals the Gini coefficient (after Haughton/Khandker 2009, 104).

The second impact of high income inequality on societies is its association with internal conflicts, but as mentioned by Frances Stewert, there is not a linear dependency between both: there is no threshold level for inequality causing internal conflicts. Of greater significance are the social-economic framework and the access of several groups to necessary resources within the society: She calls this horizontal inequality. The center of concern is not the individual, as in traditional neo-classical economics as well as in Amartya Sen's contributions to inequality, but more religious, ethnic or cultural groups and their access to resources. She concludes that: "Horizontal inequality is an important dimension of well-being, and it has economic and political consequences which can be highly damaging to development" (Stewart 2002, 34).

Within this interdisciplinary framework and in light of the outlined theories, this paper wants to contribute to three issues: First of all, a discussion about how to conceptualize inequality in general and especially in archeology will be presented. In a second step, this methodological background shall be used to describe the development of inequality within the cemetery of Durankulak in Bulgaria from the late 6th millennium until the end of the 5th millennium BC. The final remarks are concerned with the connection between inequality, social change and conflict in Southeastern Europe at the end of the Chalcolithic.

MEASURING INEQUALITY

In addition to the identification of social inequality, it is also important to measure inequality when analyzing the social structure of the society we are living in; these aspects can then be usefully applied in archaeology to analyze societies of the past. In modern societies, inequality is often measured by variables such as income or consumption (Haughton/Khandker 2009, 103). As such data is not available in the archaeological record, other information is used, e.g., the number of grave goods in a burial compared with the whole cemetery, how artefacts are distributed in a settlement or the size of houses (Freudenberg 1989; Hodson 1990; Müller 1994; Orton/Hodson 1981; Smith/Dennehy et al. 2014). Despite the methodological problems in reconstructing social structures by burial data or data from domestic structures with a variety of depositional processes (Bernbeck 1997, 262–264), results of a quantification can be used as a starting point for the social interpretation of prehistoric communities (Müller 2001, 46–55).

Among the different tools that economic research provides to measure inequality (Haughton/Khandker 2009, 101–120), only few can be used for an archaeological data set. The Gini coefficient, for example, is one of the most commonly used measurement concepts in economics and it is associated with the Lorenz curve.

As illustrated in **figure 1**, the Lorenz curve of a population connects the cumulative percentage of households or individuals on the abscissa with the cumulative percentage of income on the ordinate (Haughton/Khandker 2009, 104). The Gini coefficient compares the Lorenz curve of a population with the theoretical line of absolute equality and is defined as A/(A+B), where A and B are the areas shown in figure 1. If A=0, the Gini coefficient would be 0, describing perfect equality in the analyzed society. If B=0, the Gini coefficient would be 1, representing total inequality. Being normalized between 0 and 1 and in combination with the Lorenz curve, the Gini coefficient can be interpreted in a very intuitive way. Some institutions, such as the World Bank, multiply the coefficient with 100, so that a coefficient of 0.35 becomes 35. In modern societies, Gini coefficients vary widely. Values spread between 24.7 for Denmark and 24.9 for Japan, which are two of the countries with the most equality in the world, and 74.4 for Namibia (Human Development Report 2009).

Formally, the Gini coefficient is defined as:

$Gini = \frac{1}{2n^2\bar{y}} \sum_{i=1}^{n} \sum_{j=1}^{n} |y_i - y_j|$; n is the sample size, $\bar{y}$ the mean income in the society, y_i and y_j are individual incomes (Litchfield 1999, 4).

While the Gini coefficient is the most readily interpretable inequality measure, one major drawback is that it does not allow a focus on inequality at different parts of the income distribution. This can be achieved by making use of generalized entropy measures (GEM).

The general formula of the GEM is given as:

$$GEM(\alpha) = \frac{1}{\alpha(\alpha-1)} \left[\frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^{n} \left(\frac{y_i}{\bar{y}}\right)^{\alpha} - 1\right].$$

α weights the distance between income at different parts of the income distribution and can take any real value, but usually only a few standard values (0, 1 and 2) are applied.

If α=0, the GEM is more sensitive to income differentials at the lower tail of the distribution, if α=1 it puts higher weights on the middle of the distribution, and if α=2, inequality at the upper tail of the income distribution is weighted most strongly. The GEM ranges from zero to infinity, with zero meaning perfect equality. It is not normalized and therefore more difficult to interpret than the Gini coefficient. A number of other inequality measures exist, but these two have become the standard tools of inequality measurement. For further discussion of concepts measuring inequality, see Jonathan Haughton and Shahidur Khandker (2009), Julie Litchfield (1999) and Frank Cowell (2000).

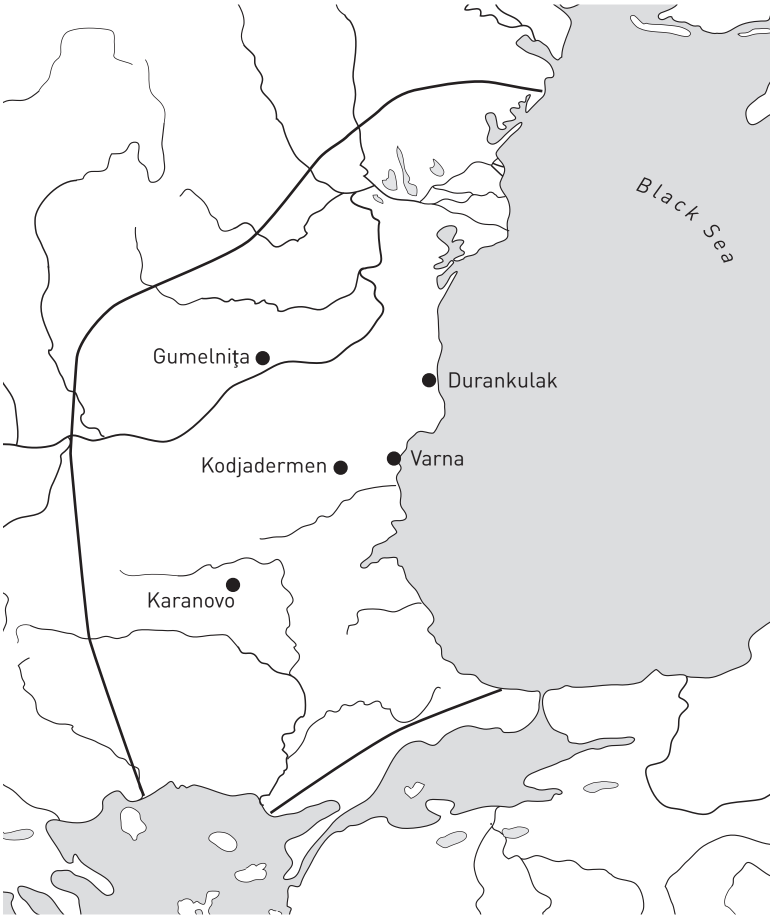

Fig. 2. The prehistoric cemeteries of Durankulak and Varna and the core area of the Western Pontic Chalcolithic societies (Kodjadermen-Gumelniţa-Karanovo VI) (after Lichardus 1988, 85 fig. 43).

THE CASE STUDY OF DURANKULAK

The cemetery of Durankulak is situated in Northern Bulgaria in the Southern Dobrudja **(Fig. 2)**. Via its grave goods it is dated to a period lasting from Hamangia I to Varna III, in absolute dates referring to a period from before 5000 BC to 4250/4150 BC (**Fig. 3**), whereby the beginning of Hamangia I remains uncertain (Bojadžiev 2002, 69).

In the cemetery of Durankulak, about 1204 individuals are buried, but there are differences

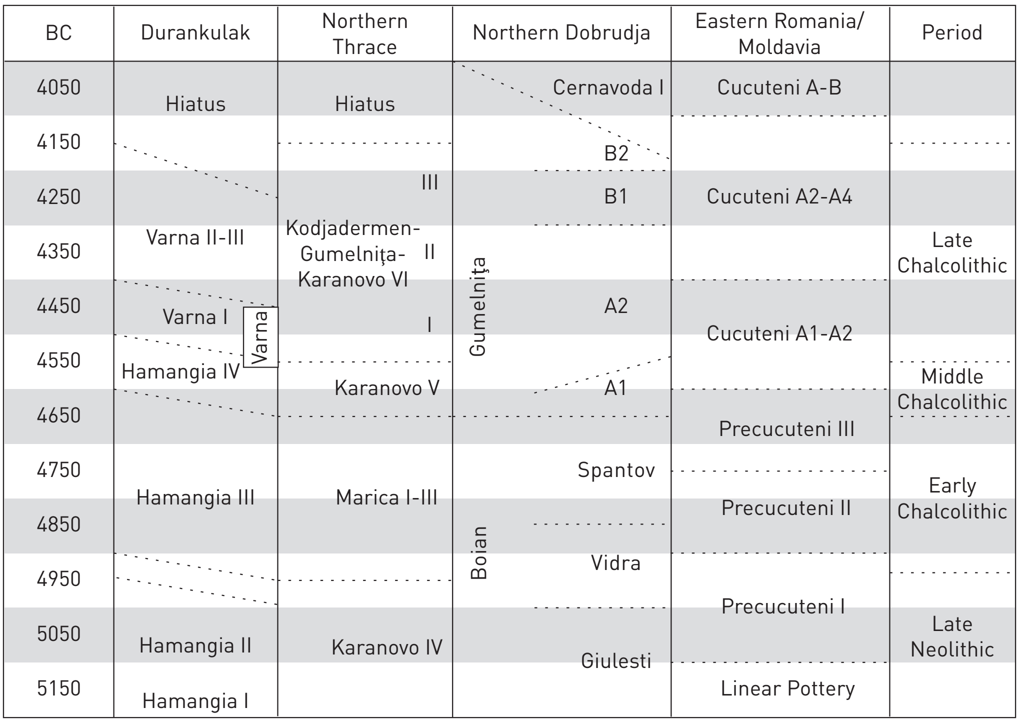
BC
Durankulak
Northern Thrace
Northern Dobrudja
Eastern Romania/ Moldavia
Period
4050
4150
4250
4350
4450
4550
4650
4750
4850
4950
5050
5150
Hiatus
Varna II-III
Varna I
Varna
Hamangia IV
Hamangia III
Hamangia II
Hamangia I
Hiatus
III
Kodjadermen-Gumelniţa-Karanovo VI
II
I
Karanovo V
Marica I-III
Karanovo IV
Cernavoda I
B2
B1
Gumelniţa
A2
A1
Spantov
Boian
Vidra
Giulesti
Cucuteni A-B
Cucuteni A2-A4
Cucuteni A1-A2
Precucuteni III
Precucuteni II
Precucuteni I
Linear Pottery
Late Chalcolithic
Middle Chalcolithic
Early Chalcolithic
Late Neolithic

Fig. 3. Chronological chart of Durankulak and the Balkan Copper Age (after Bojadžiev 2002, 69; Govedarica 2004, 227; Higham/Chapman et al. 2007, 652; Lazarovici/Lazarovici 2007, 158–159; Todorova 2002a, 49).

in the number of interred individuals from the several periods. 196 people can be associated with the Hamangia I and II cultures, which reflects the end of the Neolithic in this region. There is an increase in the population between Hamangia II and III and 390 burials are connected to Hamangia III. Until the Middle Chalcolithic, the period of Varna I, the local community seems to shrink and only about 77 deceased can be attributed to this period and 164 to the Hamangia IV community. The last period of the cemetery is again connected to an increase in population and about 363 people can be associated with the Varna II and III cultures.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INEQUALITY IN THE CEMETERY OF DURANKULAK

To measure inequality, artefacts need to be translated into values. **Table 1** describes the values defined by Henrieta Todorova (2002b, 267), which were applied here for practical reasons. A discussion of the relative relation between the values is necessary, but here the practical experience of the excavator should be taken for granted. With the aid of these values, the entire amount of index points was calculated for every grave. The Gini coefficient was calculated with R-cran. These data were used to visualize the Lorenz curve of every period mentioned above (**Fig. 4, Tab. 2**).

Generally, it is interesting to note that the latest burial period has concomitantly the highest Gini coefficient with 77.2. This high coefficient is connected to heavy copper tools and gold ornaments. About 70 % of all examined graves received only 10 % of all index points, whereas the upper decile of the buried population was associated with about 70 % of all encountered artefacts.

The burials of period Hamangia I and II (before 4950 cal BC) are distinguished by a Gini coefficient of 70.4, which is the second highest value at Durankulak. At the lower end of the Lorenz curve, it is shown that about 65 % of the total amount of burials owns only 15 % of all index points, but both of the most

Tab. 1. The values of artefact categories (after Todorova 2002b, 267).

Arteface	Value
Deer Tooth	0.5
Spondylus decoration	0.5
Ceramics	1
Awl/Needle	1
Ring	1
Imported wares	2
Silex tool	2
Animal remains	3
Fragmented tools	3
Stone jewellery	3–5
Stone tools	5
Molluscs	5
Phalanx	5
Spondylus idol	5
Necklace	3–10
Diadem	3–20
Armring	5–10
Battle axe made of antler	10
Stone axe/Stone chock	10
Belt	10–30
Figurines	15
Copper	By weight
Gold	20–40

Tab. 2. Gini and GEM coefficients with the average index points (avi) for every period at the cemetery of Durankulak.

Period	Gini	GEM(0)	GEM(1)	GEM(2)	AVI
Hamangia I and II	70.4	0.61	0.40	1.67	4.43
Hamangia III	66.8	0.48	0.39	1.96	5.34
Hamangia IV	67.4	0.54	0.36	1.57	12.40
Varna I	60.9	0.45	0.29	1.29	25.82
Varna II and III	77.2	0.62	0.56	2.37	23.25

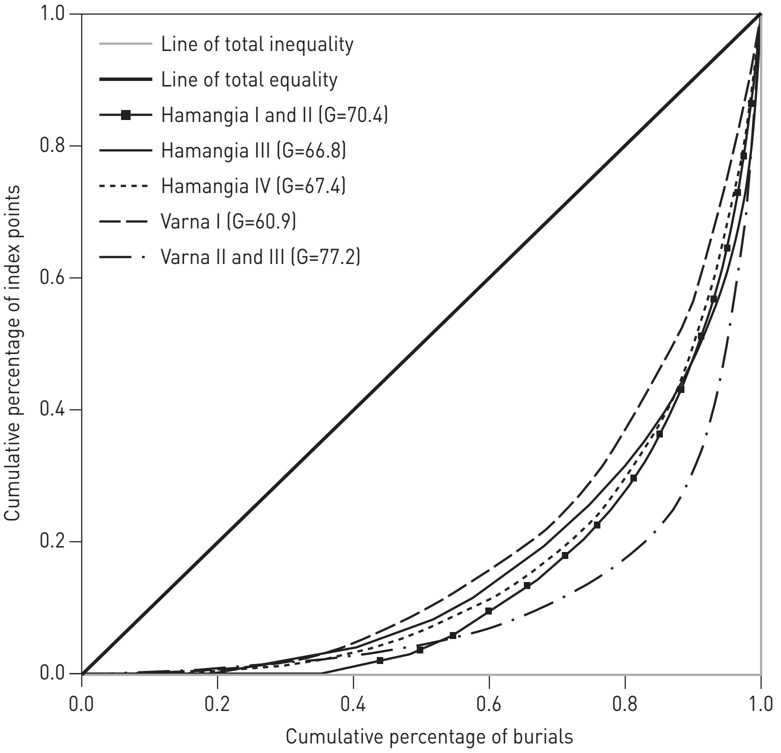

Fig. 4. Lorenz curves for every period at the cemetery of Durankulak.

replete burials (Grave 643 and 793) possessed 10 % of all grave goods. A stratification consisting of four groups can be observed, as three breakpoints are identified: About 35 % of all graves are not associated with any kind of burial object. A second breakpoint is revealed at 70 % and the last decile has 51 % of all index points.

Based on the grave goods, it can be assumed that between Hamangia III and Hamangia IV there was no change in the social structure, because the Lorenz curve and the Gini coefficient are nearly identical. In Hamangia III and IV about 60 % of the graves contained only 10 % of the grave goods, whereas the last 20 % have about 70 % of all index points.

The sample from Varna I (4500–4400 cal BC) contained numerous rich burials and has the lowest Gini coefficient with 60.9. This can be explained by a more equal structure of the society and high prosperity. This conclusion is supported by the average index points, which exhibit the highest value during Varna I.

To gain comprehensive knowledge of the economic development of Durankulak, the average index points (Tab. 2) as well as the number of different materials were measured (**Fig. 5**). The average index points show the opposed development: While inequality decreases during the first four periods, the index points per grave increase rapidly from about 4.4 points in the period of Hamangia I/II to 25.8 points during Varna I. During the last period, inequality rises and the average index points decrease to 23.3 points per grave. The number of different materials in the graves is a

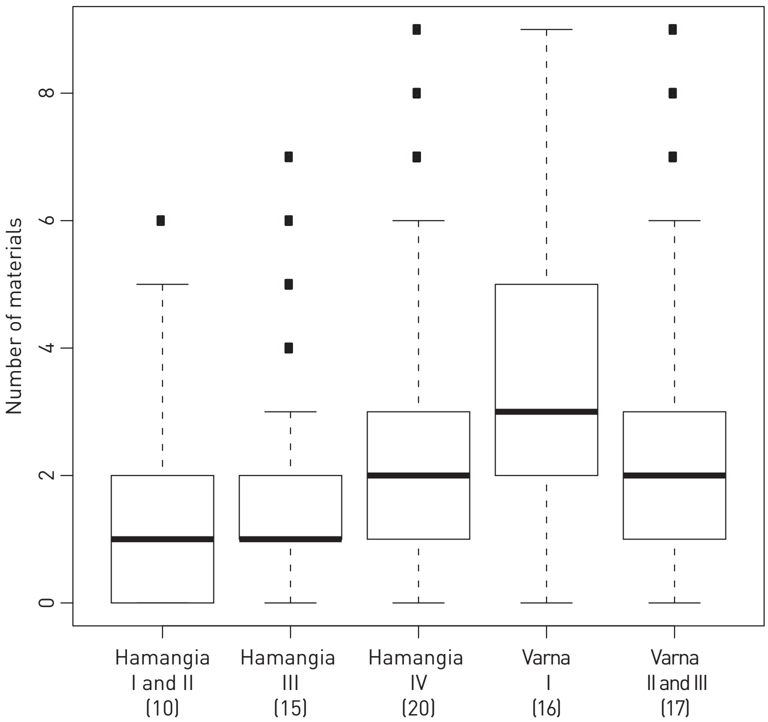

Fig. 5. Box-and-Whisker plot for the different materials during the occupation of Durankulak. In brackets: the total amount of different resources.

more direct measurement of economic growth and decline. During the first period, only a few different and local materials were given to the buried individuals. As figure 5 shows, most of the graves contain only zero to two different materials and the artifacts were made of local resources, such as clay or stone, whereas foreign materials, for example shell artifacts, are uncommon in the graves. There are small changes in the quantity of resources until the Varna I period – only outliers contain seven different materials. Furthermore, during the Hamangia IV period just 42.3 % of all graves contain copper (9.6 % contain gold artefacts) and during the Varna I period the quantity of copper remains at a level of 40 % for all individuals and 10 % for gold. Another aspect seems remarkable: Graves of the Varna I period usually contain two to five different materials, whereas the graves of Varna II/III contain one to three different materials. During the last periods, only outliers are buried with more than five different materials and the ratio of individuals with copper and gold decreases to 27 % respectively 4 %. Both the average index points as well as the different materials reflect the development: the increase and decrease of economic prosperity within the graveyard of Durankulak are antithetically related to the development of inequality (**Fig. 6**).

INEQUALITY AND SOCIETAL CHANGE

While the complexity of societal developments during the Late Neolithic and the Chalcolithic of Bulgaria is indicated by extraordinary settlement mounds and, e.g., the Varna cemetery, the causes for the decline of these societies is still intensely debated (Bánffy 1990–1991; 2001; Chapman 1981; 1990; Gimbutas 1994; Link 2006; Tasić 1991; Todorova 1995; 2002c; Tringham 1971; Tringham/Krstić 1990b; Weninger/Clare et al. 2009). But as the results show, internal causes are as important as, for example, postulated ecological problems, climate change or demographic shifts.

The Gini coefficients measured at Durankulak can be best compared with the coefficients of modern developing nations. While the average index points increase from Hamangia I/II to Varna I, the Gini coefficient decreases. In conclusion, a richer cemetery is accompanied by lower inequality on the average. Thorvaldur Gylfason and Gylfi Zoega (2002, 18) as well as the OECD report showed in a cross-country sample that more inequality correlates with lower economic growth. This is in accordance with the observations made at Durankulak, once the average index points are taken as a direct measure for economic growth. They also pointed out that economic inequality correlates with the dependence on natural resources in modern countries. If there are higher returns for natural resources in a country, there will be more inequality in income because the returns are usually accrued to a small group of people (Gylfason/Zoega 2002, 20–21).

In order to compare Durankulak with modern observations, a closer enquiry of the economic background provides evidence of the different roles that natural resources play for these Late Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic communities. Hamangia is usually associated with

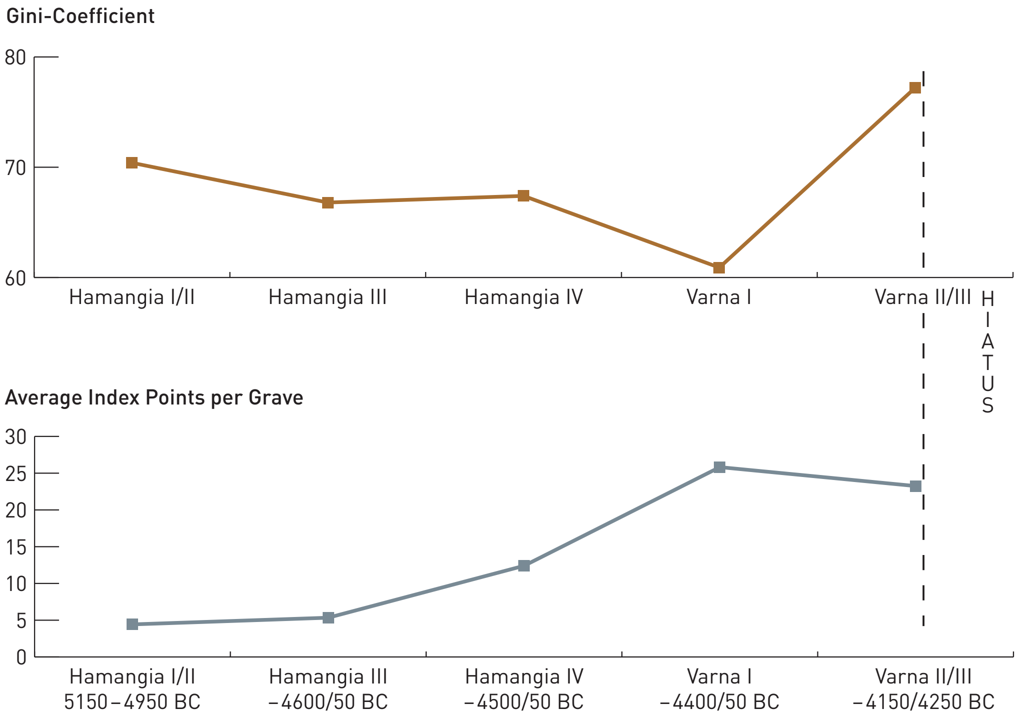

Fig. 6. The development of the Gini coefficient as well as the average index points within the graveyard of Durankulak.

remains of foraging activities, displayed by the high quantities of bones from wild donkey in the burials before 4600 cal BC (Spassov/Iliev 2002, 322). About 15 % of all burials during Hamangia periods contained wild donkey, whereas during Varna periods no animal bones were recovered in the burial ground, which indicates a higher dependence on meat at the beginning of Durankulak. The end of the Durankulak cemetery is represented by a rising quantity of copper items. Hence, the society was more dependent on copper as a raw material. Thus, the cause for inequality at Durankulak – in accordance with Gylfason and Zoega (2002, 20–21) – might have been the access to or denial of natural resources, but with the appearance of copper no reallocation is noticeable. Nevertheless, at the Varna cemetery, which is contemporary with the Hamangia IV and Varna I phases at Durankulak (Bojadžiev 2002, 69; Higham/Chapman et al. 2007, 652), increasing inequality can be detected. This transregional inequality, which has not been quantified yet, is associated with the advent of copper.

The various trends of GEM(0) and GEM(2) are related to the quantity of graves without any goods and the distribution of index points at the top of the society. There are not as many burials without any artefacts during Hamangia III (19.2 %) than during Hamangia I/II (35.2 %) which is reflected by a decreasing GEM(0). On the other hand, the vast difference in the rich graves (Fig. 5) is linked to an increasing GEM(1) between these periods.

Between Hamangia III and Hamangia IV, the GEM(0) increases, whereas the GEM(2) decreases. This is due to a richer cemetery in general (expressed in average index points), but almost the same quantity of graves without any artefacts (19.2 % respectively 14.9 % of all graves). In consequence, the upper part of the society benefits from the growing wealth of the community between these periods.

As the GEM(2) has shown, economic inequality between Varna I (4500–4400 cal BC) and Varna II–III (4400–4150 cal BC) is caused by the monopolisation of many material items in a few graves. The GEM(2) indicates the rise of a richer group of burials and probably people at the end of the Eneolithic at Durankulak.

The results offer a quantitative comparison of "social inequality" in general. They add a new perspective to other social studies already presented for Durankulak. Todorova did highlight gender differences in the social development: the increasing richness of male graves and the decreasing richness of female graves at the latest stages of the Durankulak development points to internal social processes (Todorova 2002b, 274). The combination of her investigation and the study about inequality offers the reconstruction of both driving forces of social changes as well as their consequences for the society.

For some reasons, the Durankulak cemetery also reflects a local situation of the Hamangia society as it belongs to the fringe of the Western Pontic Chalcolithic cultures. For other reasons, the Durankulak cemetery displays general tendencies within regional Chalcolithic societies. Further studies on other sites have to prove that the rising inequality within Durankulak communities at the end of the Early Chalcolithic is not only a local phenomenon. However, at this stage of research the results could be used as a model for a broader perspective. Since an increase in social inequality is linked in modern economic theory to a decrease in economic productivity, the role that inequality played in the historical development has to be addressed.

Additionally, in the Cucuteni A-Tripolye B/Cucuteni AB-Tripolye B1 area the society was organised like an "egalitarian tribal system" (Manzura 2005, 325). Furthermore, there is no hiatus in the settlement system. In the North Pontic area, a contrary development is detectable: The society was more egalitarian and the emergence of technological innovations, or economic growth, supported a permanent settlement system (Manzura 2005, 327).

In consequence, the decline of tell settlements in Southeastern Europe at the end of the 5th millennium BC (Link 2006, 41) might be explained by increasing social inequality. Growing inequality accompanies low economic growth. The leaders of the society at Durankulak and Varna needed the surplus of their work to maintain the structure of society. A requirement for this surplus was economic growth, but with increasing inequality they were not able to provide the necessary growth of goods.

Obviously, this process was linked to and forced by changing access to natural resources. During Varna I, a majority of the buried population was provided with items of different raw materials, while in the most elaborate burials only 9 different raw materials were represented (Fig. 5). In the following Varna II/III phase, the majority of the buried population was equipped with items made from only 1–3 different raw materials, while the most elaborate burials were equipped with up to 9 raw materials. Cramer (2005, 18) highlights that the difference between a high consumption of prestige items by only a minor section of the population in combination with restricted access of the majority of the population to necessary goods could lead to immense conflicts. Both phenomena (reduced growth and restricted accessibility of resources linked to increasing inequality) were proven for Durankulak.

CONCLUSION

At Durankulak, the Gini coefficient and the GEM indices differ over the course of time. At the beginning and at the end of cemetery use, grave goods were more unequally distributed in burials (Fig. 6). The reason behind this might be associated with dependency on different natural resources. In order to analyse the relationship between natural resources and inequality, it is necessary to analyse the subsistence strategies and the economic system itself.

However, the case study highlighted the possibility that the societal consequences of social inequality could be the driving force in the termination of Chalcolthic tell-societies of Southeastern Europe. In contrast to other interpretation attempts, internal processes within the social constitution of the Chalcolithic societies are mainly responsible for the destruction of the cultural Chalcolithic formation. While the explanation for the end of Chalcolithic societies in Southeastern Europe has often been incorrectly explained by the emergence of "foreign invaders" (Gimbutas 1994, 39–42), "climatic changes" (Todorova 2002c, 21–22) or "economic overexploitation" (Chapman 1981, 138–139), an increase in social inequality could have been a significant force for the destruction of these societies.

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THE ICONOGRAPHY OF INEQUALITY

ABSTRACT

In the current debate about social inequality, Prehistoric Archaeology should be able to contribute to the question if inequality has ever been the signature of societies or when inequality significantly increased. Indeed, the 4th millennium BCE seems to be a watershed in the development of social inequalities. In Egypt and Mesopotamia, kingship and states arose. But also far away from these developments the social dynamics are visible. The method of iconography allows us to follow the traces of power and kingship in the North Caucasus.

INTRODUCTION

Inequality in general and social inequality in particular are considered by most people as a kind of historical universality, which is hardly worth questioning. Social inequality is generally observed as functional and necessary for the capitalist economic system (Schroer 2010). This is accepted by the great majority of people in industrial countries to a certain extent. Nonetheless, the enormous drifting apart of wealth in industrial nations as well as between industrialised and developing countries has led to a new discourse among economists, historians and sociologists in recent years (Reinecke/Mergel 2012). Thereby, archaeology has become increasingly involved in these discussions, because it presents a long overview of the past lines of development (Meller et al. 2016). Put to query is whether or not social inequality has always existed in history. Led by the question as to how differences in wealth between continents likely emerged, the evolution biologist Jared Diamond proposed a global history of inequality, starting with the Neolithic period until the early modern era, which brought forth great public resonance (Diamond 1997). His proposal was only partly convincing, because one central argument was his claim that the differences among continents in the provision of domesticated animals at the end of the last Ice Age led to different developments. Thus, the impression arose that the historical domination of Eurasia ultimately was the result of the vagaries of nature and not a chain of social processes made by the human hand.

A historical observation of the disparities in earnings is very instructive, as it shows that the share of the uppermost decile in the national income declined between the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the 1980s in the United States and in Europe (Piketty 2014). This was due – not in the least – to high wealth taxes, as Thomas Piketty explained in his very successful book. The present-day, constantly growing economic and social inequality is thus definitely the result of deregulation policies (Spannagel et al. 2016). This has been scandalised as being unjust by increasingly more persons in West European societies. Connected with that is the feeling of the ineffectiveness of one's own voice in the process of democratic participation, which through economic inequality supposedly or actually is massively placed in question (Bude 2016).

Hardly anyone would have raised such questions 250 years ago. Namely, historically the problematisation of inequality was a late appearance. The French historian Pierre Rosanvallon follows the path of equality from the 17th century until the present-day and shows that – aside from the natural equality of Nature – equality is neither an idea from Antiquity nor of the Christianity-dominated medieval period. Wealth was associated with the obligation to 'give to the poor', but it was not placed in question *per se*. Thus, French and American discourse on the Enlightenment took on far more a new quality: It was no longer claimed that all human beings in their natural makeup are equal in talent, but rather in their freedom (Rosanvallon 2013, 33). He placed equality and freedom in relationship: a new and revolutionary idea. Equality is thus the heritage of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.

Social inequalities were rarely a topic in archaeology during the past fifty years (but see Price/Feinman 2010). It is certainly true, though, that for various reasons research concentrated on the so-called 'elites' (Kienlin/Zimmermann 2009). By contrast, social disparities were played down or left out, especially in the context of neoevolutionist theories (Service 1977). Since a larger number of prehistoric societies in Eurasia were classified as 'egalitarian', inequalities in the observations about many prehistoric groups – by definition – did not play a special role. The postulation of equality bases on the principle of equal descent, which of course does not hinder differentiations being made according to status and wealth (Apel 1982, 27; Bowles et al. 2010). The fact that the 'egalitarian' society includes solely males, not females, has already been assessed elsewhere as a serious shortcoming (Hansen 2012).

Ultimately, it should not be left unmentioned that within this theoretical frame of reference archaeological realities, on the whole, have received far too little consideration. Neoevolutionist theory concerns the reduction of the many ethnographic realities into a few 'ideal types' (*Idealtypen* in the sense of Max Weber), and so one single reality cannot correspond to one 'ideal type'. An explanation of these realities or transitions is not appropriate for the concept of the ideal type, as has already been critically noted with reference to Weber (Adorno 1993, 200–208). It is time to cast off these alleged universalities and to refrain from constantly pressing them through the sieve of history. Instead, the examination of archaeological material should be developed that describes archaeological evidence for equality and inequality with greater precision (Hansen 2016). This seems all the more necessary, considering that societies inhabiting the five continents have developed quite diversely during the 12,000 years since the end of the last Ice Age. In Western Eurasia and Egypt, early forms of state had already emerged in the 4th millennium BC, whereas in Australia the inhabitants upheld "egalitarian" societies well into the 20th century. Archaeology can trace the course of development of human societies within distinct spaces and times, and it can identify the discontinuities in history. It need not call upon ideal types and model stages of social anthropology to order and interpret its source material socially and politically. In this way, archaeology turns to cultural specificities instead of continuing the search for cultural universalities.

INEQUALITY IN THE BRONZE AGE

In the 4th millennium BC a new form of inequality and rulership appeared in the world. Within only a few centuries' time in Egypt larger communities grew from small independent villages, and the first chiefdoms and proto-states developed into one large unified state with a king of Dynasty 0 ruling Upper and Lower Egypt (Andelković 2011; Wilkinson 1995). It was a process that was militarily highly expansive: Dynasty 0 already established military control over the southern Levant. In the end, this process led to a completely new system of governance with one single person at the top ruling the entire country. From then on, a king ruled Egypt, whose functions consisted no less in upholding the cosmic order that linked the ruling dynasty with the gods and legitimised royal authority. The Egyptian king was perceived as a divine being, guarantor for unity and prosperity of the country, mediator between mortals and deities, and bearer and executor of the directives of the gods (Bárta 2013, 259). The concept of 'kingship' can also be understood, somewhat simplified, as: "rulership by a single individual holding a supreme office in a lifelong tenure, most often succeeding on a hereditary principle and wielding – or not, as the case may be – great personal power" (Baines/Yoffee 1998, 205). Kingship was viewed as "a prerequisite for civilised existence", which "was conceived to represent a god-given and divinely established order and the king acted as its guardian against chaos" (Bárta 2013, 259). In the course of the Bronze Age, the kingdom in Egypt underwent different real and ideological changes (Gundlach 1998). Indeed, the pharaoh became historically infamous as an example of tyrannical rule. The pharaoh had no constraints: Literary sources state: "What he wills to do, he does"; "He speaks and it transpires". His power was perceived as a numinous aura. When he appeared in public, the people called out: "Earth beware, the god is coming" (Assmann 1991).

As early as ca. 3600 BC, strong rulers evidently could mobilise and control work forces and make use of exotic resources, so as to demonstrate their authority and enlarge their loyalties.

The idea of the kingdom in dynastic form likely evolved during this time (Friedman 2011, 44). Graves in Egypt enable the characterisation on an archaeological basis of the mighty leaders of the later 4th millennium BC. For example, grave U-j in Abydos dates to the time between 3200 and 3150 BC (Dreyer 2011). Foremost to point out among the grave goods found in it are some 2000 vessels, containing mainly oil or fat. Also, among these were 400 Canaanite vessels with ca. 4500 litres of wine. All together, they provide an impression of the amount of production and the transfer of goods going on at the end of the 4th millennium BC.

In Northern Mesopotamia, too, the socio-political and cultural development in the late 5th and the 4th millennia was much more dynamic than assumed by research only a few years ago. The first cities emerged, new forms of rulership formed, and a great potential for conflict and violence apparently led to massacres. This time was described as the "most crucial period in the growth of complex urban society and a phase that has recently been referred to as already representing a 'state-level' (Oates et al. 2007, 598). There, in Northern Mesopotamia, not in the south, the course towards urban building and socioeconomic complexity might have opened (McMahon et al. 2011, 201). According to Gil Stein, the early 4th millennium BC was a time of powerful leaders, perhaps the first kings in the context of the emergence of urban centres and centralised administration (Stein 2012, 141). In this context, particular note should be made of four mass graves in the small satellite tell settlement of Majuna, dated to the Late Chalcolithic period 3 (3800 – 3600 BC): Most of the interred were young adults (McMahon et al. 2007; McMahon et al. 2011; McMahon 2013). The skeletal remains showed traces of violence; some were disjointed. This lack of piety towards the dead strongly indicates that the deceased were slain enemies (McMahon 2009; McMahon et al. 2011, 215–216). Other clear evidence of violent conflicts, whether uprisings of urban populations or enemies from outside, has been confirmed as well.

Unfortunately, graves of the potentates in Mesopotamia at that time are lacking. Nonetheless, pictorial representations enable several functions of the rulers to be recognised that are comparable with those in Egypt. The king is portrayed as an extraordinary warrior, an expert hunter, and the highest priest who regulates the relationship between human beings and deities (D.P. Hansen 2003, 22). On the other hand, though, there are considerable differences between Egyptian and Mesopotamian kings with regard to their affiliation with the gods (Frankfort 1948).

In Egypt and Mesopotamia, completely new forms of institutionalised rule emerged. The city – or the territorial state – organised social inequality in great style. Pharaonic Egypt and later Mycenaean Greece too were the first historically known slaveholding states (Flaig 2009, 33–37; Fischer 2011). There, the economic and ideological outline of the Bronze Age was formed as an era, whose signature and heritage was the state. Naturally associated with that is a multitude of theories about the formative process and function of the state (Bernbeck 2008; Lull/Micó 2011). According to the well-known definition by Max Weber, the state is a territorially delimited dominion, which claims a monopoly over physical force ('monopoly on violence', *Ge-*

waltmonopol des Staates) and the legitimised rule of people over people (Weber 2005). However, these criteria for the early states have been placed in doubt (Breuer 2014).

The formation of the state in Egypt and Mesopotamia occurred within a relatively short time, after the beginning of the productive mode of economy: and this is a historically special feature of Eurasia. V. Gordon Childe linked the 'Urban Revolution', as he named this process in analogy to the Neolithic and Industrial revolutions, with technical basis innovations: the wagon, the sailing boat and metallurgy (Childe 1950). He considered these innovations as the preconditions for this process. Andrew Sherratt propounded the concept of a "secondary products revolution", in which animal traction of the plough or wagon as well as the use of wool and milk brought forth a new innovative potential in the 4th millennium BC (Sherratt 1981). Today it has been recognised that after the "Neolithic" innovations of the 9th – 7th millennia BC and the development of metallurgy in the 5th millennium BC there is a conspicuous accumulation of basis innovations in the 4th millennium BC. They included the domestication of the donkey (Rossel et al. 2008) and the horse (Warmuth et al. 2011), the cultivation of olives (Salavert 2008) and wine (McGovern et al. 1997), besides breeding the woolly sheep. Through different kinds of alloying, the creation of metal objects was transformed from making prestigious objects to producing daily commodities. This was enhanced by new innovative techniques, such as casting in the lost-wax technique (Hansen 2014). Silver could be separated from lead by means of the cupellation technique, which became widespread throughout the entire eastern and central Mediterranean area during the 4th millennium BC (Hansen/Helwing 2016). Associated with the developments in metallurgy were numerous innovations related to weaponry, for example, the production of the first swords and spearheads. With regard to pottery, the potter's wheel must be underscored (Doherty 2015; Laneri 2011), and equally worthy of mention is the development of script and the administration of goods with seals. Each of these innovations had considerable economic, social and cultural consequences (Bernbeck 2004). However, they did not have the same effect in all places. Sheep wool appeared to a greater extent only later at the end of the 4th millennium BC; as far as sources indicate, the wagon apparently did not play a role in Egypt for a long time; the potter's wheel came into use only as late as the Old Kingdom. For the formation and perpetuation of the state, the organisation and control of the work force were foremost decisive and this ultimately included supplying the workers with food.

Evidently, this transformation occurred only much later – or not at all – in many regions of Bronze Age Eurasia. Nevertheless, archaeological evidence for powerful leaders and the formation of strict hierarchies is abundant. It allows the conclusion that at least short-lived rulers or authoritative groups existed, but collapsed soon after.

In this reference, one perhaps most illustrative example is the great kurgan of Maikop, which was excavated 120 years ago. A short report about it was published by the excavator, Nikolai Ivanovič Veselovskij (Veselovskij 1900). Finds from the excavation are well illustrated in exhibition catalogues in St. Petersburg (Piotrovskij 1998; Piotrovskij 2013). The burials under the Maikop kurgan have been of interest to many researchers throughout the 20th century, among others, Michael Rostovzeff (1922) and Childe (1936).

Blagoje Govedarica has presented a detailed study of the long and complicated history of the research undertaken (Govedarica 2002). The main problem was dating the kurgan. Now the *radiocarbon revolution* has led to the recognition that the kurgan was erected between 3700 and 3500 BCE, and, thus, the grave in the mound must be much older than previously thought. Unfortunately, there is no direct ^{14}C date for the grave itself. The Maikop kurgan is one of the earliest monumental burials for a single deceased individual, and its construction doubtlessly necessitated careful planning, extensive use of resources and the competent organisation of a large work force. Countless large kurgans are located in the northern foreland of the Caucasus, along the Terek and Kuban rivers, awaiting to be studied. Some of them are even twice as large as the Maikop kurgan.

The 5.3 x 3.7 metre large wooden grave chamber was carpeted with river pebbles and completely covered with minium, a bright orange-red pigment of lead. The chamber was sub-divided into three compartments. In the larger southern part of the chamber was the principal interment, according to Veselovskij, a male. In the northern part were two interments: a female and a person whose sex could not be determined. A great number of grave gifts were found near the principal interment, whereas the other interred had comparatively few: earrings made of gold wire, gold and carnelian beads, and five bronze vessels. That is to say, the three persons had been differently bestowed with grave gifts. The male was clearly the main interment. The two individuals had to follow him to the grave, if it is not assumed that they all died coincidentally at the same time.

Unfortunately, the skeletal remains were not kept by the excavators. Thus, no further information can be gained regarding age, sex, kinship, etc. Nonetheless, this grave is a noteworthy phenomenon in that the practice of specific survivors' following-in-death is evidenced in graves of the 4th and 3rd millennia BC, which are furnished with above-average, exceptional goods. Obviously manifested here is a new form of disposal over the human body and life (Testart 2004; Hansen 2011, 175–178).

Let us now briefly recall the grave goods, without going into detail. Perhaps the most outstanding gifts of the main interment, the male, are several thousand beads of turquoise, carnelian, silver and gold, which impressively illustrate the requisite jewellery of early potentates. A set of bronze artefacts or weapons consists of two bronze axes, two flat axes, an adze, two chisels and two daggers (**Fig. 1**). Next to them were a stone axe, twelve stone arrowheads as well as a half-moon shaped object of stone with a curved length of 42 cm. A stone mace head was among the grave gifts, too. Analysis of the metal weapons and tools in the kurgan at Maikop revealed that they contained between 2 % to 9 % arsenic; that is to say, they were made of bronze (Selimkhanov 1962; Courcier 2014, 602 tab. 22.4. For a general overview, cf. Chernykh 2008.).

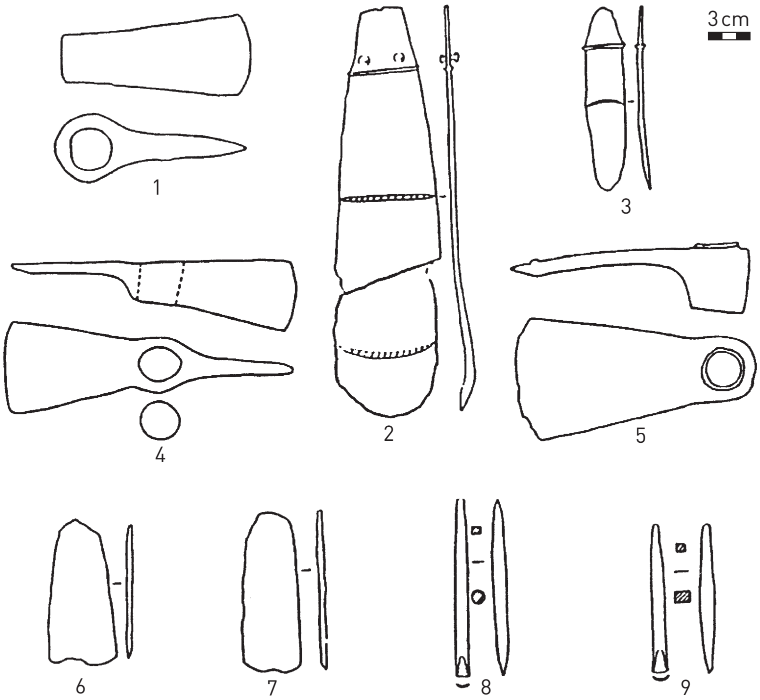

Fig. 1. Maikop kurgan: tools and weapons (after Korenevskij 2004).

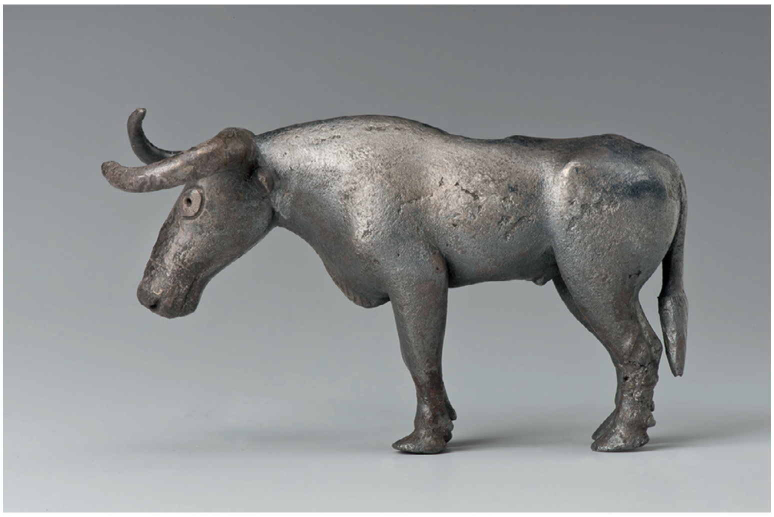

Fig. 2. Maikop kurgan: silver bull (photo courtesy of J. Piotrovskij).

They are early examples of the metallurgists' efforts to improve the properties of metals by mixing them. Through these measures, the production of long dagger blades (very soon also sword blades) became possible. The large dagger in the grave at Maikop is a proud 34.7 cm, and also has silver rivets. The development of this weapon was already of great importance in Maikop times.

Note must be made of the beads and vessels made of silver. Figurines in-the-round of bulls – two of silver and two of gold (**Fig. 2**) – were

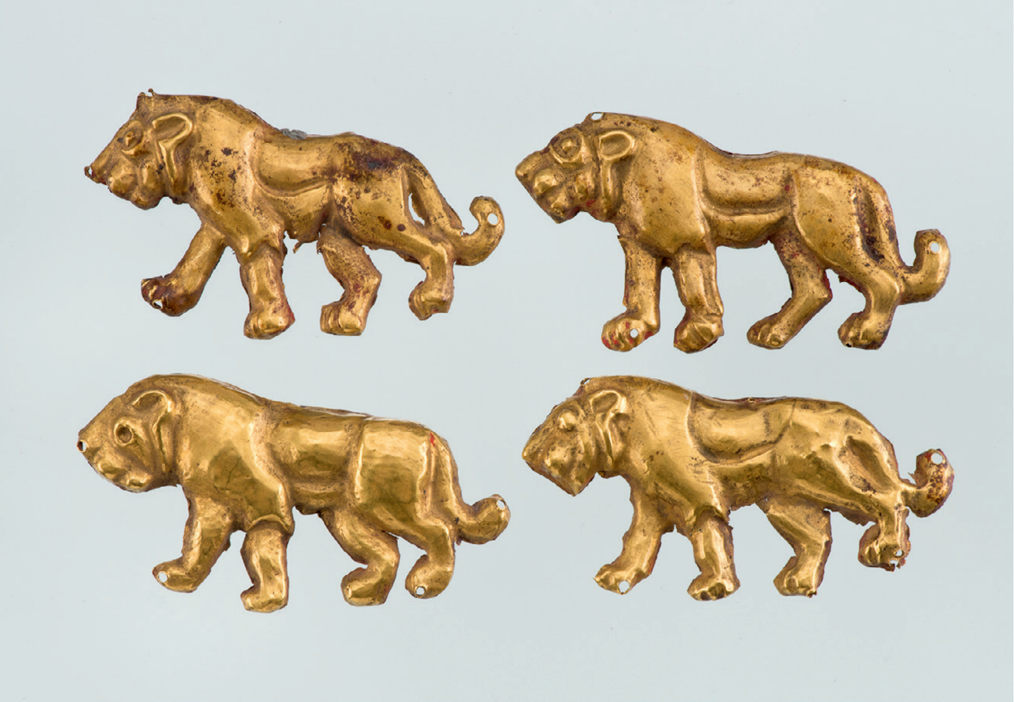

Fig. 3. Maikop kurgan: gold lions (photo courtesy of J. Piotrovskij).

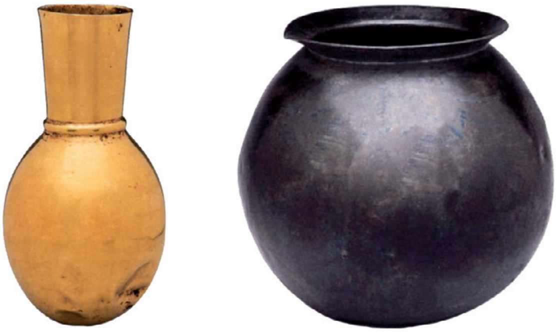

Fig. 4. Maikop kurgan: gold and silver vessel (photo courtesy of J. Piotrovskij).

components of a construction that has not been interpreted until now. They are outstanding examples of casting in the lost-wax technique that was mastered in the first half of the 4th millennium BC.

Further, there are seventy appliqués made of gold depicting lions and cattle (**Fig. 3**), and in addition a total of 14 silver vessels and two gold vessels (**Fig. 4**) (Uerpmann/Uerpmann 2010, 24–247; Govedarica 2011). The bronze vessels measure between 20 and 40 cm in height. The metal vessels in the grave at Maikop deserve the greatest attention, not only because they are among the oldest known until now, but also because they were made out of three different kinds of metal: arsenic bronze, gold and silver. Two of the silver vessels are decorated with figural scenes. The gold vessel with its oval body and tall, slightly funnel-shaped neck can be compared with ceramic vase forms in the Caucasus (Piotrovskij 2013, 320 fig. 22.1.1).

ICONOGRAPHIC INNOVATIONS

The Bronze Age state developed a comprehensive production of imagery that was completely unknown before. Therefore, these images can be understood for the most part as iconographic innovations. In the sphere of iconology, iconographic novelty and symbolical innovation enable an art historical method of interpreting images (Beyer 1992, 84). It was Aby Warburg, Erwin Panofsky, Ernst Gombrich and others, who at the start of the 20th century began to decipher the symbolical and intellectual contents of pictures (Gombrich 1979; Eberlein 1988; Ginzburg 1988, 149–233). In art history, which concentrated foremost on the style of the art work and the identification of the painter, iconography, or iconology, was itself an innovative method, whose proponents – being Jews – had to flee from Germany to England and North America in 1933. The Warburg Institute is settled to this day in London. With the aid of iconography, motifs in images can be circumscribed and interpreted in their historical development, in the best of cases augmented by written evidence.

Panofsky (1978, 38–41) could distinguish three strata in a work of art:

1) The primary or natural subject. This comprises the analysis of all that is pictured: the colours, the lines, the natural objects such as "human beings, animals, plants, houses, tools and so on". They are seen as the artistic motifs.
2) The secondary or conventional subject is grasped through the realisation that a male figure with a knife represents the saint Bartholomew, that a female figure holding a peach in her hand is a personification of the truth. Panofsky calls the identification of such pictures 'iconography'. This prerequires the correct identification of the motifs: "In the case that the knife which allows us to identify St. Bartholomew is not a knife but instead a corkscrew, then concerned here is not the figure of St. Bartholomew".
3) The actual meaning or intrinsic contents of the picture is deciphered, when those "underlying principles are mediated, which reveal a basic attitude of a nation, an epoch, a class, a religious or philosophical conviction". The painter need not be fully aware of these aspects. The interpreter must uncover them by using many additional references, above all written evidence. This procedure is what Panofsky calls 'iconology'.

The observation of prehistoric images can adopt the insight of iconography that the use of motifs in images is not freely chosen or arbitrary. Their use should be viewed and interpreted far more within the context of a corresponding tradition, as Dora and Erwin Panofsky have shown on example of "Pandora's Box" (Panofsky/Panofsky 1956/1992) or Carlo Ginzburg on Picasso's *Les demoiselles d'Avignon* (Ginzburg 2001, 121–156). Of course, iconography can realise the potential in prehistoric or early historic imagery only to a limited extent, namely due to the complete or critical lack of written evidence. The repeatedly expressed criticism of iconology is that it is aniconic and degrades the art work (Beyer 1992; Burke 2003). In association with the Neolithic or Bronze Age, iconology can be regarded as one of its strengths and in our case places the image in the foreground as a document.

Making images, especially of humans, was historically anything other than a matter-of-course. The first anthropomorphic 'sculpture in the round' was created only in a relatively advanced stage of *homo sapiens* (Conard/Floss 2000).

Imagery of human beings, thus, cannot be presented as a continuous line in history, but instead as a course marked by large gaps.

From a historical viewpoint, there were even a number of explicitly aniconic movements and in the course thereof image-hostile movements in the Christian tradition, the most well-known of which culminated in the Byzantine iconoclastic controversy and the most recent of which marked the Reformation (Rochow 1997; Ginzburg 1999, 144–167). In any case, it is more than just a game of chance that early Neolithic figural statuettes remained limited to the Anatolian-Balkan sphere of painted pottery, while in those parts of Southern Europe characterised by impresso and cardial ceramics they are almost completely absent. Without doubt, in the latter societal norms and religious bans, among others, played a significant role.

The production of the first clay figurines began after the end of the last Ice Age in Western Asia. At first, small-sized, schematic statuettes were made. Increasing in number and formal variations, these figurines were components of the "Neolithic package" that ultimately spread from the Fertile Crescent via Anatolia and Greece as far as the Lower Rhine area. In the centre stood an innovative type of image that had already been created in the older Preceramic Neolithic (PPNA): of decisive significance for these statuettes when compared to

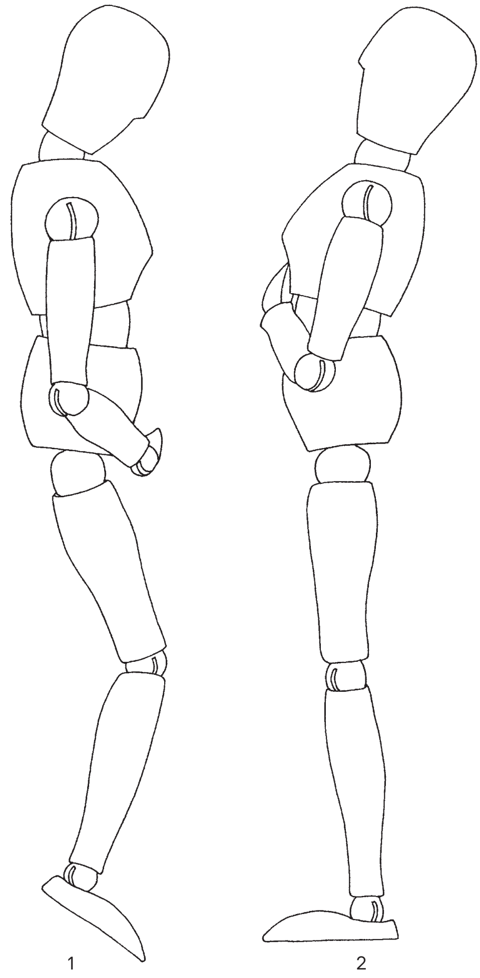

Fig. 5. Palaeolithic and Neolithic figurines (after Hansen 2007).

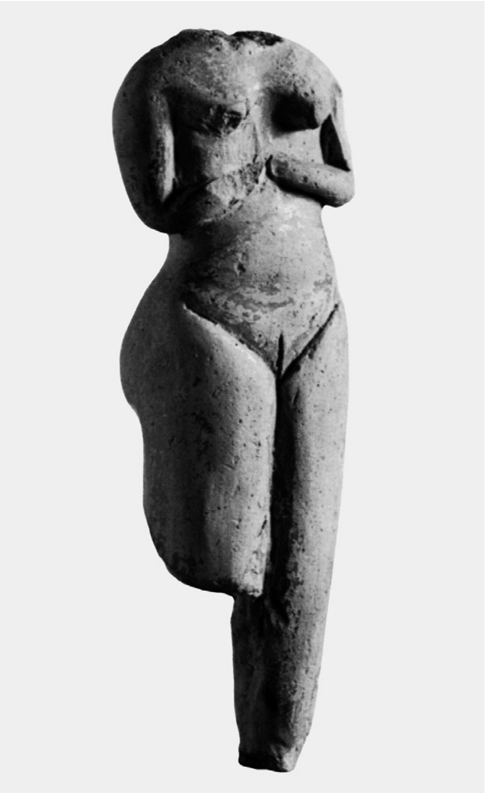

Fig. 6. Lerna, Greece: statuette with the arms under the breasts (after Hansen 2007).

Palaeolithic figurines was the new attitude of the body (**Fig. 5**). Instead of a lowered head as in Palaeolithic figurines, the head of Neolithic figures is tilted backwards at the neck and the eyes directed upwards. This decisive formal newness in self-depiction of humans was the basis of the "Neolithic image-formula", which remained a determining factor in the development of figural statuary. In the course of development, various three-dimensional 'inventions' were added to the framework of this image-formula. For example, the type of female statuettes shown with the arms held below the breasts (**Fig. 6**) played a role not only until the end of the Neolithic development of figural images but also in the Bronze and Iron Ages as well.

The enormous inequalities of the 4th millennium BC did not emerge overnight, but were rather the result of long-term developments that can be discerned already in the 6th and 5th millennia BC (Demoule 2015). In association with the cemetery at Varna, Jean-Paul Demoule refers to the origin of inequality, which he sees as emerging in the 5th millennium BC in many parts of Europe (Demoule 2007). Recognisable in these figurines is the representation of inequality on different levels. For example, while statuettes of the Preceramic Neolithic were decorated only occasionally, those of the Ceramic Neolithic (Yarmouk, Hassuna, Samarra) increasingly display ornaments on the body. Hair arrangement and head cover played a role. Jewellery and hairstyle were part of the representation of individual status, which seems to have become ever more important since the 7th millennium BC (Hansen 2007).

In general, the frontality and the axial symmetrical structure of the statuettes created a sense of distance to the viewer, which likely should reflect an asymmetrical power structure. The complete motionless of the figurines transferred them out of the time-con-

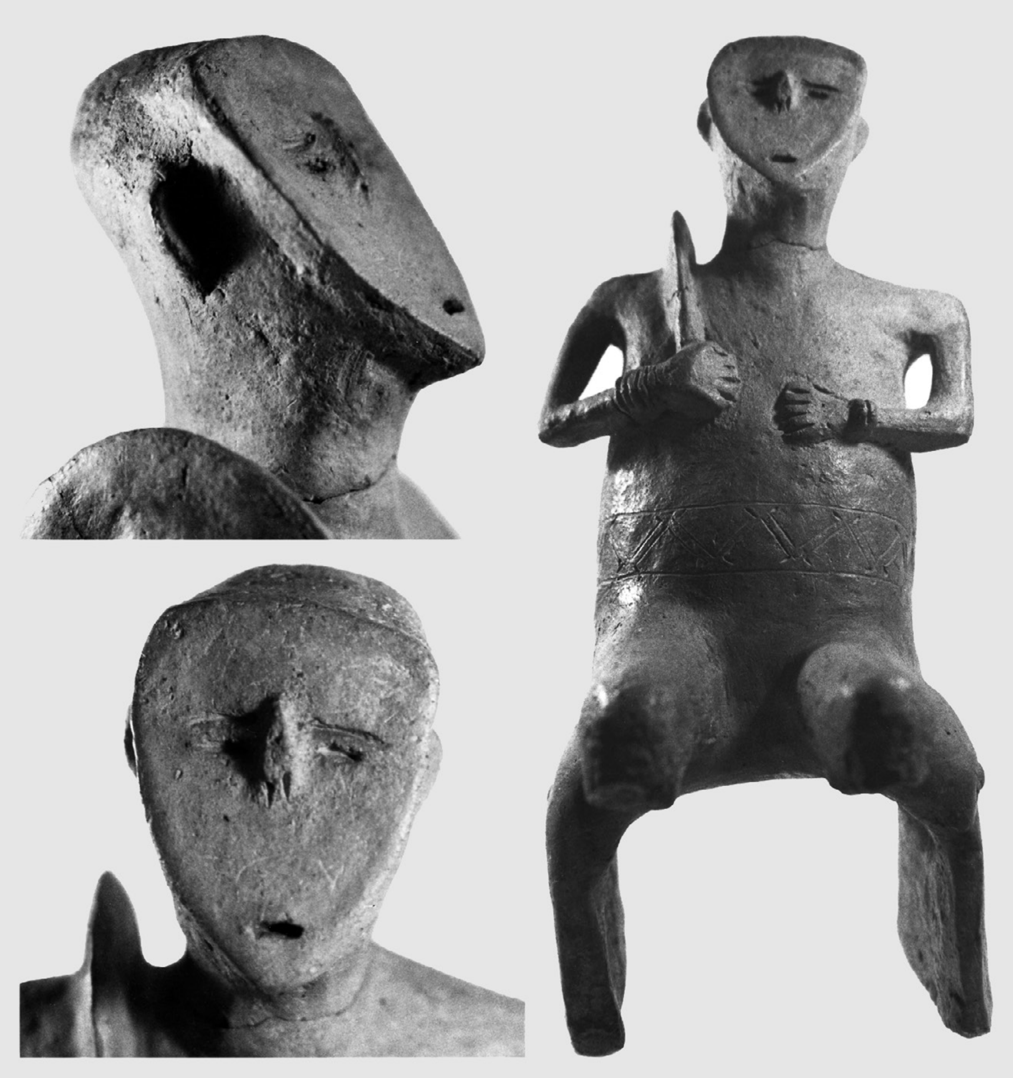

Fig. 7. Szegvár-Tűzköves, Hungary: so-called sickle god (after Hansen 2007).

tinuum in which their observer was encased. The extreme stylisation, that is, the relinquishment of any personal individuality, was a further form of generalisation. Among the statuettes of the Vinča culture of the 5th millennium BC in Serbia, some are quite unusual due to their seated position upon a stool with their arms reaching down to the hips: a body positioning that expresses superiority and dominance. This is the case with the enthroned figurine (**Fig. 7**) found in Szegvár-Tűzköves, which is ascribed to the Hungarian Tisza culture of the first half of the 5th millennium BC. Authority is conveyed not only through the bearing of the figure, but in addition by the shouldered symbol of power (Hansen 2007, 193 fig. 92). Especially informative in association with inequality is the assemblage of figurines, which was recently discovered in Stublina, Serbia (**Fig. 8**). Concerned here is a group of 43 individuals, some armed with weapons (Crnobrnja 2011). One figure stands out among all of the others through its height: without question a visualisation of inequality in the 5th millennium BC (Spasić 2014).

Neolithic images enable the recognition of inequality at various levels, which we may understand from a social point of view. Inequality is expressed even more clearly in graves of

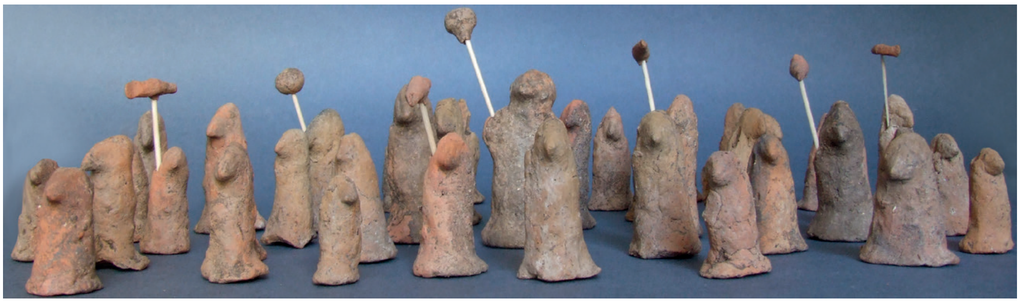

Fig. 8. Stublina, Serbia: Neolithic figurines (photo courtesy of M. Spasić).

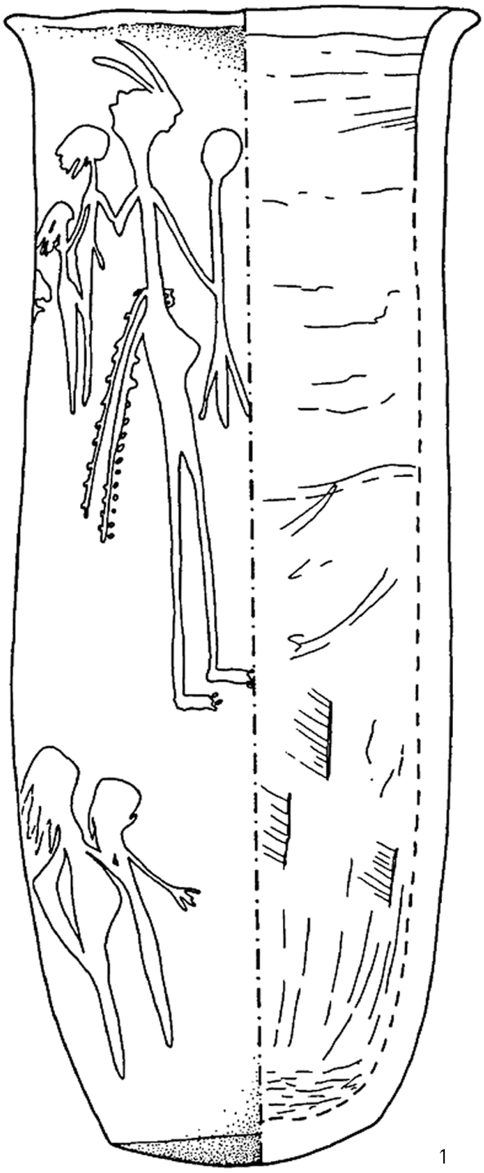

Fig. 9. Abydos Grave U-239: smiting the defeated enemies (after Dreyer et al. 1998).

that time (Brummack in prep.; Windler et al. 2011). The deceased with their furnishings can likewise be studied under iconographic aspects.

In the 5th millennium BC, the world of Neolithic figurines came to an end, an imagery that had determined western Eurasia for thousands of years.

In the 4th millennium BC a number of iconographic innovations appeared, which would set new social conditions on the scene and which would partly play a certain role for a very long time, some even until the present day (for example, the coat-of-arms of nobility). In an iconographic or iconological analysis of images, the oldest time levels present quite a challenge for the analyst: Namely, aside from achieving a direct identification of the being illustrated, in an iconographic analysis, the analyst walks through later manifestations of this type of image, but in the reverse direction; so, he confronts not the differences, but possibly merely a basic expression. Whether or not the actual image belongs to a type of image at all must be decided by considering the archaeological context and references to as many comparisons as possible. The analysis results in a line of clues, whose plausibility are of course subject to different judgments. Nonetheless, the iconographic or iconological analysis is the sole method through which image motifs and their adoption can be traced in a historical perspective and interpreted as to what they represented at a specific time.

Iconographic sequences are already recognisable in the 4th millennium BC, for example, in the representation of the ruler who slays the enemy. This image is found on a jug in grave

U 239 of the Naqada IC culture in Abydos (**Fig. 9**). It is also known from a wall painting in grave 100 of the Naqada IC culture in Hierankopolis, and further attested in the famed representation on the Narmer palette (Naqada III). This motif was still prominent in the 2nd millennium BC (Graefe 2004). The depictions document the violence involved in the emergence of the state (Carneiro 1970). Violence was monopolised by the pharaoh, so that he could maintain order and defend against "the enemy". Correspondingly, representations of prisoners are a frequent and repetitive motif. The violent handling of prisoners as rendered drastically in pictorial art is indeed noteworthy. The Narmer palette shows the severed heads and penises of the slain enemies (Davies/ Friedman 2002). Similarly, in Mesopotamia scenes of abuse and execution of prisoners are documented from the last third of the 4th millennium BC (D.P. Hansen 2003, 23–24 fig. 7–8).

In Egypt, an iconography of the gods and the kings developed, which would remain decisive for centuries' time (Kemp 2000; Wilkinson 2000; Anđelković 2011). The appearance of large statuary in the later 4th millennium BC was a further element of numerous image innovations. Impressive examples are found in the colossal statues of the god Min in Koptos (Kemp 2000). In Europe as well, between the Caucasus and the Atlantic, anthropomorphic stone statues can be pointed out as iconographic innovations of the 4th millennium BC. Angelika Vierzig could compile more than thousand stelae and date them between 3750 and 2500 BC. She designated them as "stones of power", because they placed the concentrations of power at that time in view (Vierzig 2013; Philippon 2002).

Here, however, the large format representations of power are not in focus, but rather 70 small-sized figures of lions found in the grave of Maikop, which signify one of the most important iconographic innovations of the 4th millennium BC. According to Yurij Y. Piotrovskij's counting, there are 37 lions with a height of 6 cm pacing to the right (**Fig. 10**) and 33 smaller lions 4.8 cm in height going to the left (Piotrovskij 2013, 314f. No. 20.20–21 with fig.). In addition, there are 23 bulls walking to the right (height 3.1 cm; **Fig. 11**) (Piotrovskij 2013, 315 No. 20.22 Abb. 20.22. Ivanova 2012, 5 gives diverging numbers). These appliqués were presumably sewn onto cloth or leather.

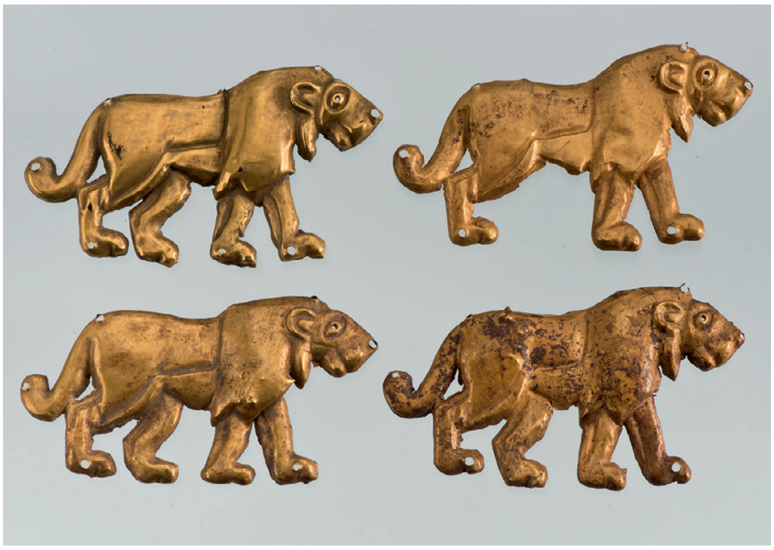

Fig. 10. Maikop kurgan: golden lions (photo courtesy of J. Piotrovskij).

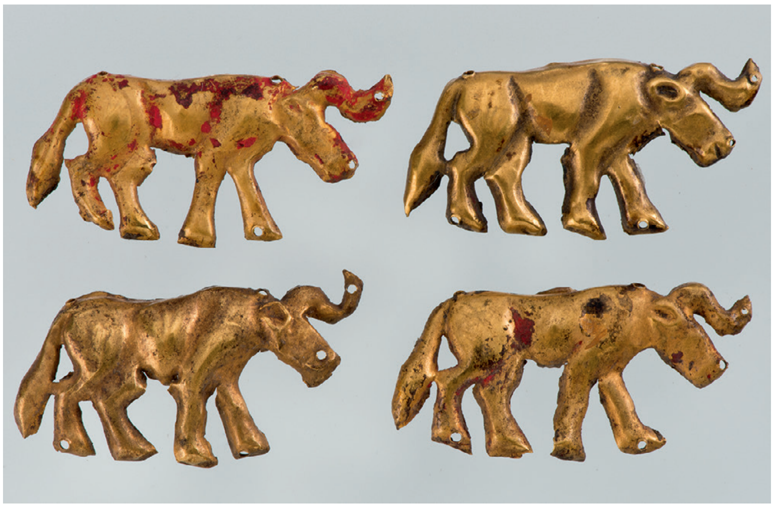

Fig. 11. Maikop kurgan: golden bulls (photo courtesy of J. Piotrovskij).

The figures of the lions are worked in a masterful reduction of lines. The heads are dominated by the oval eyes. Behind them swells the great mane, from which the ears are emphasised by a raised ridge. The lions are neither in rapid movement nor in restful repose; instead they are depicted in a 'majestic' stride. The quiet sovereignty radiated by this movement is, wherever the appliqués were sewn, seventy-fold strong. Hence, the lions are not just single images to appreciate, but rather a seventy-fold message in its entire context.

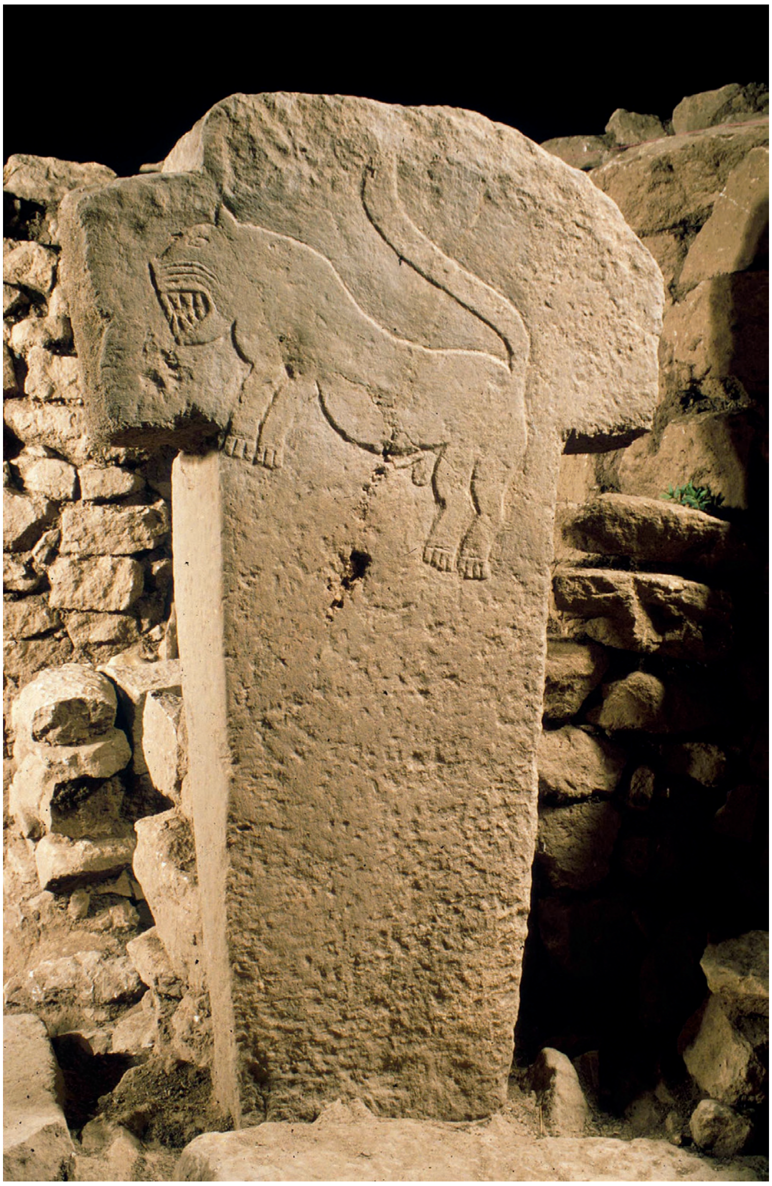

Fig. 12. Göbekli Tepe (photo courtesy of Göbekli project).

The lions in the Maikop grave should be viewed as an iconographic innovation, for they do not follow a specific tradition. Instead, they present an almost singular manifestation for the Maikop culture. Solely one golden pendant in the form of a lion protome can be added, which was found in the hoard from Staromyšatovskaja, dist. Krasnodar (Tallgren 1928). Admittedly, the lion was often depicted as a dangerous animal ever since the Palaeolithic period, as attested by paintings from the Grotte Chauvet (Chauvet et al. 1995). The fascination for the lion is evidenced by its representations on lion pillars in Göbekli Tepe (**Fig. 12**) (Schmidt 2006, 234 fig. 102). Yet, images of lions are all together very rare in the Neolithic period. In the Carpathian Basin and Greece, only occasional clay statuettes are known from the Neolithic and the Copper Age (Willms 1986; Makkay 1988). The lion did not belong to the canon of animal representations, which should be emphasised insofar as the presence of the lion in Southeastern Europe at that time is sufficiently attested by bone finds. So, this dangerous animal could well have occupied a place in the Neolithic world of images. But, this was not the case. It could have still existed in Greece even in the Bronze Age (Thomas 2014). Bronze Age lion bones from the Northern Caucasus are not known until now, but its presence there may be presumed. The lion is attested by bone material in Armenia during the 4th millennium BC (Godedzor: Chataigner et al. 2010, 389).

So, independent of the question of its natural appearance and the possible attitudes towards nature, the fact must be emphasised that the lion was indeed depicted in the 4th millennium BC and, thus, was part of the social world. Most people probably had never seen a lion in the wilderness. As an image, the lion was only part of their everyday reality. Through its depiction, the lion and the characteristics ascribed to it became 'real', regardless of whether or not one had seen a real lion in 'nature'. The Early Bronze Age world was surely inhabited by none too few creatures, which the human population had never seen, like the celestial bull or Humbaba, the guardian of the cedar forest. Yet, these beings were also social creations that were imagined as real, or at least they might have been considered as real.

In Bronze Age iconography of the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC, the lion was associated with the king. It was the king who could defeat the lion and who could hunt the lion. The lion represented a new form of governance: the kingdom. This political charging of the animal is confirmed by images as early as the second half of the 4th millennium BC in Egypt. On ceremonial palettes of Naqada III-times, which served to mediate the ideology and iconography of the ruling class, the king was already represented by a lion (Stevenson 2009).

Depicted on the 'Battlefield Palette' (**Fig. 13**) dated to ca. 3100 BC are slain, fleeing and captured enemies. The king attacks them like a lion. The wild animal here is a metaphor for the king himself. He embodies the characteristics of the animal, such as strength and aggressiveness (British Museum EA20791, allegedly from Abydos; Wilkinson 2000, 28; figures also in Teeter 2011, 222–223; Kelder 2013, 150). The first depiction of a king in battle with a lion, which is known in Southern Mesopotamia, is the lion hunt stele from Uruk, dated around 3300 BC (D.P. Hansen 2003, 23 fig. 5).

The lions in the grave at Maikop are clearly older than the aforementioned evidence for the king and the lion motif. It is noteworthy that a like depiction is on the silver beaker (**Fig. 14**). In this regard, a further lion image deserves attention, namely one found in Sé Girdan at Lake Urmia. Excavations there had investigated six of the eleven burial mounds (Muscarella 1969, 16–22). Discovered in mound III (3 m high and 35 m in diameter) were a flat axe and the fragment of a silver vessel (**Fig. 15**); the latter has the best parallels in the Maikop grave. A further find from the mound to underscore is the stone sceptre with a lion's head (**Fig. 16**). Such stone sceptres were a widespread symbol of power since the 5th millennium BC (Govedarica 2004). The looted mound IV still contained three axes and a flat axe as well as 565 gold and 38 carnelian beads. The grave chamber had been carefully built with layers of stone slabs (Muscarella 1971, 7–14).

Unfortunately, the temporal assignment of the graves cannot be supported by ^{14}C-datings. The silver vessel is an argument for a date of mound III to the first half of the 4th millennium BC, considering its analogy with that in Maikop. The spiked-neck axes from mound IV in Sé Girdan belong to the first half of the 4th millennium BC. Conclusively, this dating is supported by the recently excavated grave in Soyuq Bulaq, Azerbaijan, in which a stone sceptre with an animal head was found in addition to silver beads. According to one ^{14}C-dating, the grave belongs to the first third of the 4th millennium BC (Lyonnet et al. 2008, 36; Müseibli 2014, 137 fig. 15, for the dating cf. also 71–73).

In two extraordinarily furnished graves, one found north and one south of the Caucasus, lions as ornaments and as stone maceheads on sceptres were perceived as symbols of power. This need not be surprising, for the Caucasus is not only a high mountain range that separates but also a bridge that joins two regions, Eastern Europe and the Near East (Kohl/Trifonov 2014). Long-distance contacts of the Maikop culture, far-reaching to Mesopotamia, Iran and Central Asia as well as Central Europe, confirm the role of the Caucasus in the transfer of knowledge and techniques in this time (Hansen 2010; Ivanova 2012; Jeunesse 2014).

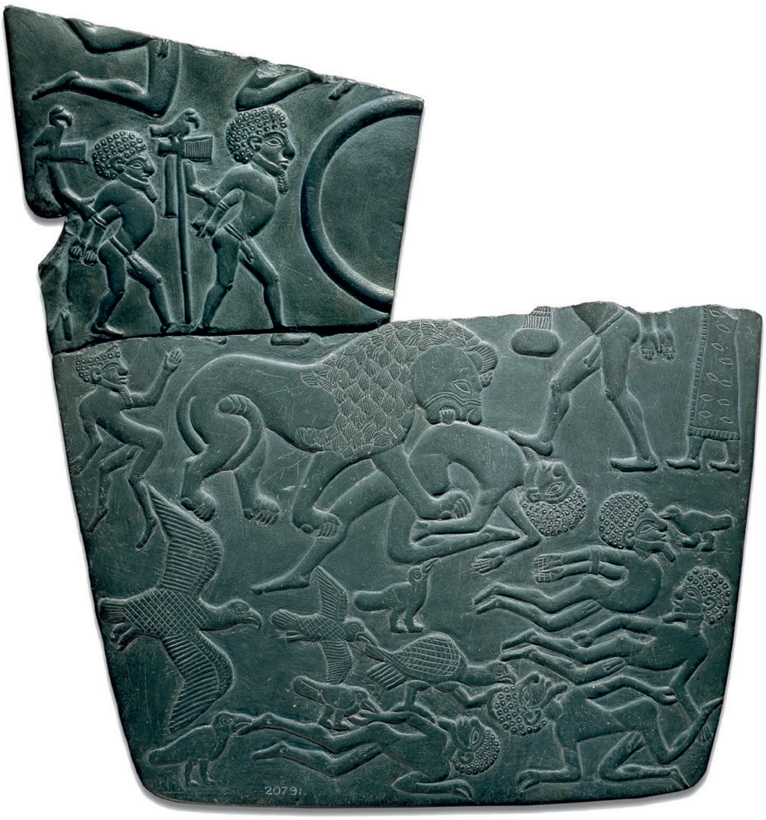

Fig. 13. "Battlefield Palette" (photo courtesy of the British Museum).

Viktor Trifonov had already drawn attention to known Mesopotamian parallels for the lion depictions and to the small, 3.5 cm long depiction of a sitting lion (**Fig. 17**) made of steatite from the grey Eye-Temple in Tell Brak (Trifonov 1998). The temple has meanwhile been dated to the middle of the 4th millennium BC and with that is coeval with the Maikop grave (Mallowan 1947, 40–43 pl. 13,6; Emberling 2002, 86f. fig. 3f). Recently discovered lion depictions on seals show more clearly the ties to administrative control.

In Tell Brak level 19a, a building was uncovered that presumably was a workshop and ac-

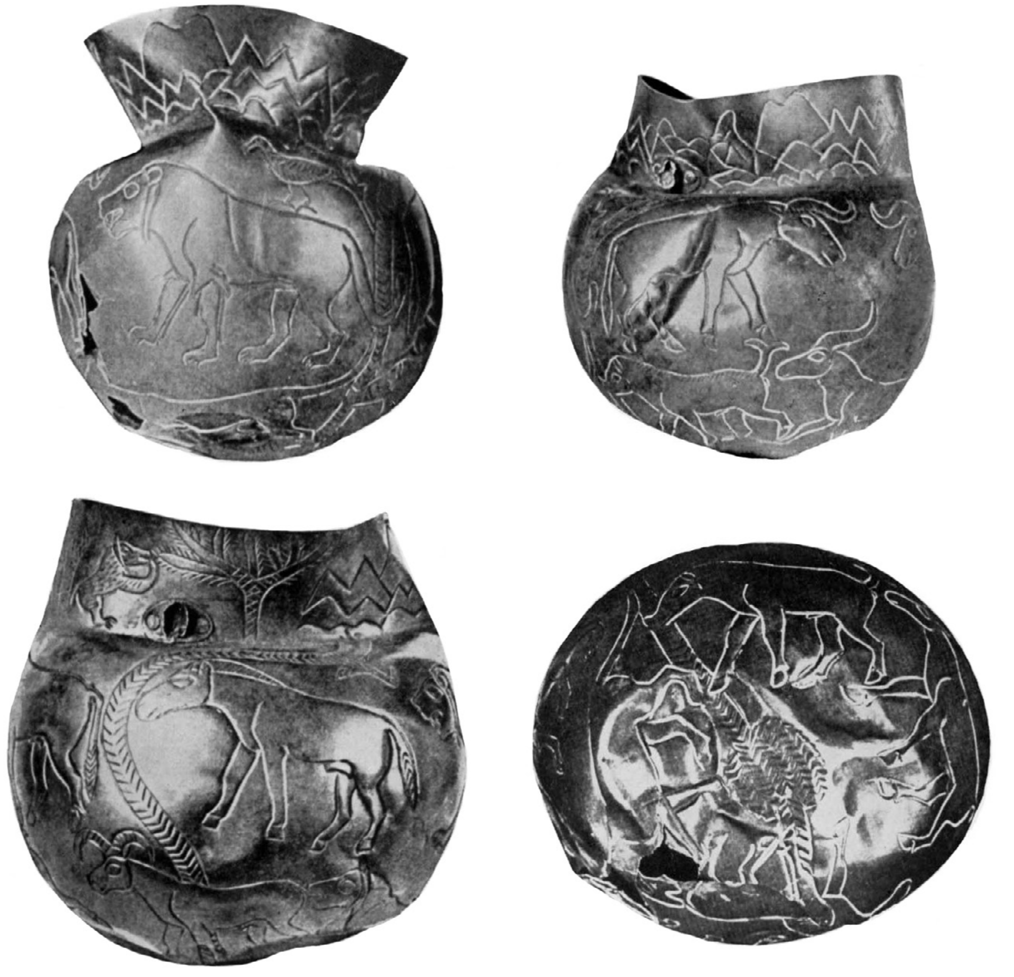

Fig. 14. Maikop kurgan: silver vessel (after Tallgren 1926).

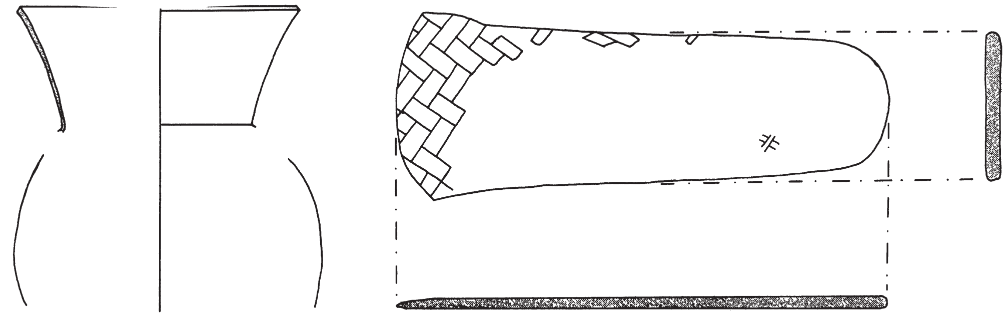

Fig. 15. Sé Girdan, Iran: silver vessel (after Muscarella 1969).

cording to the excavators was controlled by a "very senior official" (Oates et al. 2007, 598). The pottery allows its date to the same time as the mass graves, that is, between 3800 and 3600 BC. Found in the building were several seals with depictions of lions. In addition, seven seal impressions from Tell Majnuna bear the motif of the captured lion. Two more seal impressions were found in the Late Chalcolithic layers 2–3 in area TW on the main hill. Two seals depict the direct fight between a lion and a human figure armed with a spear (**Fig. 18**) or

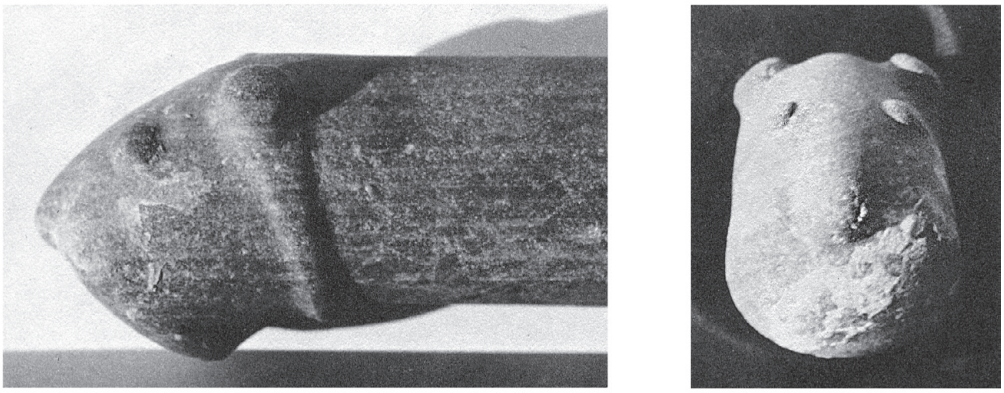

Fig. 16. Sé, Girdan, Iran: stone sceptre (after Muscarella 1969).

a dagger (Tell Majnuna: McMahon 2009, 177 fig. 1). The lion captured in a net is likewise a metaphor for the kingdom: the king is a lion and is even bigger than lions, because he is capable of hunting and capturing them.

The seals from Tell Majnuna, the depictions of lions and humans in battle in 3800–3600 BC are five to six centuries older than the lion-hunt stele in Uruk. Augusta McMahon noted that it is naturally very risky to draw analogies over centuries' time, but the similarities between the images on the seals in Majnuna and the late Uruk depictions of the (priest-)king nevertheless allow an equation of the depictions and their meaning. Around 3800 BC, we would be "at the birth of that meaning". Gil J. Stein as well sees the lion seals in the context of early kingdoms (Stein 2012, 141).

The strength and the danger of the lion were well-known and feared, even though in the real world the animal did not present a threat for most people. The animal became dangerous in the imagination, which through the many narratives and precisely the depictions could be enlivened again and again. In the context of early power concentrations in society, this dangerous animal was associated with the leading kinship group, and the lion was established as symbol for the ruler. The king was in the position to kill the animal or to capture it, and he identified himself with it, too. The king took on the strength and the capabilities of the defeated lion. The bull should also be understood in association with the kingdom: On the Narmer palette, the king is depicted as the bull, which destroys the city (Schweitzer 1948, 18). It is not by chance that the golden bull appliques and the silver or golden bulls are part of the Maikop grave goods.

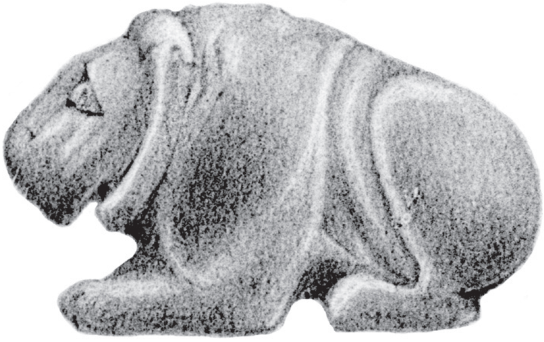

Fig. 17. Tell Brak, the Eye Temple: sitting lion (after Mallowan 1947).

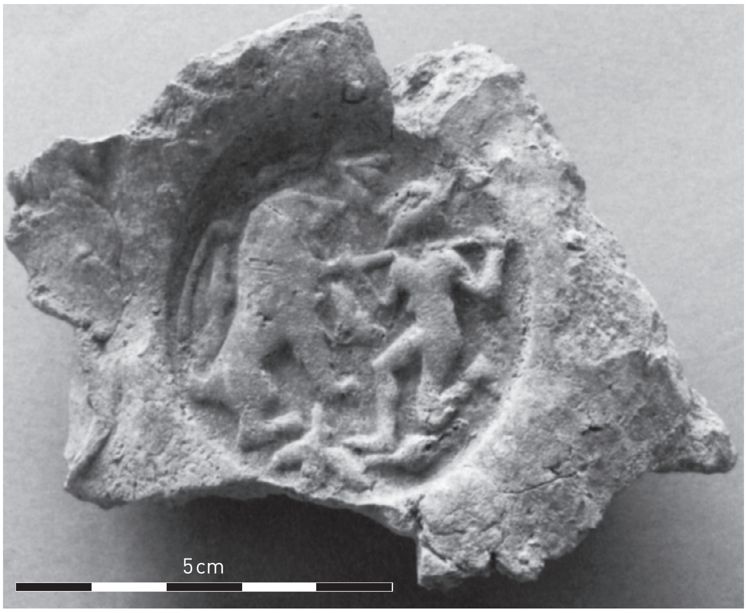

Fig. 18. Tell Brak (photo courtesy of A. McMahon).

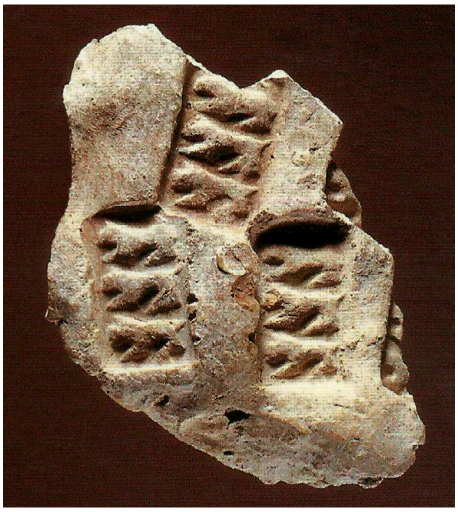

Fig. 19. Arslantepe (photo courtesy of M. Frangipane).

The use of the lion on seals was – we may assume – limited exclusively to the king and his family. The frequent image on seals ensured his medial presence. On a sealing (*cretula*) with seal impressions (**Fig. 19**), found in Arslantepe VII (3800 – 3400 BC), are three lions, one above the other, and the seal stamped three times (Frangipane 2004, 182 No. 27 with figure). Here several 'exclamation signs' were set, it would seem. In addition to Tell Brak and Arslantepe, seals with images of lions were also found in Tell Hamoukar (Reichel 2002; Reichel 2006, 9 fig. 12.14), Tepe Gawra (Tobler 1950, fig. 152; Rothmann 1994) and Hacinebi (Pittman 2000, 49 fig. 3,2). Based on the lion depicted on seals, the beginning of the royal lion ideology can be dated, as McMahon convincingly propounds, to the first half of the 4th millennium BC. As grave finds from this time are largely lacking in Mesopotamia, the mighty leaders, chiefs or kings of that era cannot be archaeologically described.

The Maikop culture in the Northern Caucasus foreland did not lie in direct vicinity of the concentrations of power in Northern Mesopotamia. Some 1500 kilometres separate Maikop from Tell Brak. Nonetheless, the view is repeatedly expressed that the Maikop culture would be the result of Mesopotamian influence. Yet this opinion must be supported by corresponding finds and contexts, or alternative models should be developed. What came from the south to the north and what arrived in Mesopotamia from the Northern Caucasus should be made more precise through further research. How were the great distances traversed? What role did the Leilatepe culture south of the Caucasus play? Were there migrations from the south to the Northern Caucasus (Izbitser 2003, 289)? This and other questions can only be answered through additional investigations. First of all, it would be advisable to analytically specify the origin of the gold, in order to determine whether the gold lions are "imports" (Masson 1997, 80). In this case, probably they were a royal gift or booty or rather presumably from local production. What kind of material were the lions sewn onto, and how should we imagine the regalia of the ruler? How can the point in time of the burial in Maikop be more closely delimited, so that we can determine the temporal relationship of Caucasian and Mesopotamian depictions of lions more precisely? Moreover, the stylistic comparison between the golden lions in Maikop and the Mesopotamian images should be refined. The stylistic distance of Maikop lions to the striding lions on one of the seal impressions from Tell Brak is quite apparent (Oates et al. 2007, 594 fig. 9). How does the burial in Maikop relate to the situation of local or regional settlements? What resources were available in this region? The current task for research is to increase our knowledge about this area through surveys, excavations, presentation of archaeological material and scientific analyses.

The 70 gold lions from Maikop are unique evidence, both in artistic craftsmanship and in a socio-historical aspect. Like the seals in Northern Mesopotamia, the golden lions can be perceived as part of the 'king ideology' that emerged exactly at this time. In the Maikop kurgan, the lions are most probably associated with the highest power, as indicated by the context of the burial of an individual, who was distinguished by grave gifts and a mound in a hitherto singular manner. This, however, implies less about the actual power of the interred. If the subject matter here is indeed a 'king', then the concrete grave context in Maikop should not be forced into a neoevolutionist model. Further, I am not attempting an overall assessment of royalty or kingship (Claessen 1986), in which great differences in time and regions can be recognised, like the chiefdom (Godelier 1976). Both overlap in the decisive point that they concern the control over human beings (Breuer 1998, 38). The significance of the lions in Maikop lies far more in the fact that they can be understood iconographically as a *self-description*. Through them, their bearer distinguished himself as a king and he did that quite impressively and ostentatiously. This message could not be exchanged with other random contents. It is the earliest iconographic document of its kind thus far, whose context is unambiguous. This self-proclamation of the deceased was confirmed in the grave, indicating that it was accepted and presumably also that the succession was carried out in a corresponding institutional framework. The amount and quality of the other grave goods, the two deceased in the side chamber, and also the height of the kurgan are supportive for this context. Yet, they are not decisive. The iconography, conversely, is clearly and unmistakeably associated with the Bronze Age kingdom.

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THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN THE CONTEXT OF EARLY NEOLITHIC NORTHERN EUROPE

ABSTRACT

Social inequality is considered here in terms of institutionalized differentiation in society that creates hierarchy in decision-making and access to resources. The origins of such differentiation in the human past are unclear and often debated. In this essay, we argue for the associated appearance of social inequality with the origins and spread of agriculture. Our focus is on the evidence for the arrival of agriculture and the Neolithic in Southern Scandinavia. Following a discussion of the meaning and visibility of social inequality in archaeology, we examine the evidene for social differentiation in Neolithic Northern Europe including monumental tombs, large-scale public works and prestige items. Our conclusions support an argument for social inequality in the Early Neolithic of Northern Europe.

INTRODUCTION

Social inequality is a major problem in many modern societies. The rich and powerful become more so at the expense of the rest of us. Such a situation is of benefit only for the elite – most members of society lose ground as social, political, and economic structures weaken and falter. In such times, the emergence of social inequality is a matter of substantial interest – this concerns ancient human societies as well – and remains a very thorny, unresolved question in archaeology. One of the reasons for this unsettled issue, we believe, is that archaeologists who consider the problem do so through the lenses or blinders of their own experience with the past. Thus, the emergence of inequality has been said to take place in almost every major time period from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age.

Inequality has two connotations for archaeologists. On the one hand, the term refers to unequal rights and privileges among members of the same society, a situation that often leads to abuse and exploitation, which has a negative connotation. On the other hand, social inequality is one of the major organizing principles of human society, creating hierarchy and adding structure to human social organization. Institutionalized inequality is associated with ascribed status, assigned at birth, and usually expressed in ranked or class structure. One's role, rights, and status in society are thus determined on the basis of membership in rank, class, or caste. Such institutionalized social inequality creates hierarchy in human society and greatly enhances the flow of material, energy, and information. Modern society would not function without some form of hierarchical structure. It is the case that increasing hierarchy is a corollary of more complex social organization.

We can be more specific about the emergence of inequality if we consider several related issues, such as the appearance of "hunter-gatherers" and the emergence of equality, the visibility of inequality, and the role of inequality in human society. We discuss these issues and argue that the beginnings of social inequality lie within the changes associated with the origins and spread of agriculture, beginning around 10,000 BC in the Old World. One of the many caveats associated with such an exercise is the fact that the beginnings of almost anything in the past are clouded by time, the limited survival of information, and the few subtle hints that have been recovered by archaeologists. Thus, our essay is somewhat speculative, but based on rather robust assumptions.

EQUALITY

To try to better understand inequality, we need to consider the concept of equality. The diaspora of anthropologists to remote parts of the planet after the Second World War led to many new and revealing studies of hunter-gatherers on five continents. The plethora of ideas and information, which emerged from these studies, culminated in the "Man the Hunter" conference held in Chicago in 1966 (Lee/DeVore 1968). As Peter C. Rowley-Conwy (2001) has pointed out, small groups of highly mobile, **egalitarian** hunter-gatherers came to be seen as the baseline for all subsequent social evolution. Prestige was ephemeral and achieved; power and wealth were limited or non-existent.

It was precisely these concepts that were challenged in the following years – emphasizing larger numbers, less mobility, and greater complexity among hunter-gatherers. Marshall Sahlin's' discourse on *Stone Age Economics* (1972) and his description of an original affluent society substantially revised thinking about the harshness and simplicity of foragers' lives. It became generally agreed that hunter-gatherers were not just small and mobile.

Aspects of the wide variation present among hunter-gatherer societies were the subjects of a volume called *Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers: The Emergence of Cultural Complexity* edited by Theron D. Price and James A. Brown in 1985. Some of the hallmarks of complexity among foragers that we suggested included features such as higher population numbers and density, sedentism, territoriality, storage, elaborate technologies, intensive subsistence practices, and long distance trade (Price 1985; Rowley-Conwy 2001). Status differentiation and social inequality were also listed among these characteristics (e.g., Hayden 1995a; 2001; Price/Brown 1985).

Status differentiation and social inequality have frequently been attributed to more complex foragers. This certainly is appropriate for certain ethnographically- or historically-known hunter-gatherers, especially for groups along the western coast of North America (e.g., Ames/Maschner 1999; Matson/Coupland 1994). Social complexity, however, is not dependent on institutionalized inequality. I would argue that institutionalized social inequality is rare among hunter-gatherers, particularly in prehistory, and is only found in the context of reliable food surpluses (after Hayden 2001). This evidence suggests that we must be very cautious in attributing institutionalized inequality to most groups of hunter-gatherers in the past.

On the other hand, some form of inequality is inherent in many species as documented in pecking orders, dominance behavior, and alpha males. Most primate groups exhibit distinct hierarchical social organization (DeVore 1965; de Waal 1998; Perry 2006). It is also clear that both egalitarian and non-egalitarian relations are present in all societies along dimensions of sex, age, ability, health and the like (Boehm 2001; Cashdan 1980; Flanagan 1989; Lee 1978). Thus, the emergence of status differentiation in and of itself is not an issue. Most ethnographically known societies of hunter-gatherers, however, exhibit evolved mechanisms for dampening dominance behavior in favor of the sharing of food and property, care of kin, and egalitarian relationships (e.g., Wiessner 2002; Wiessner/Schiefenhovel 1996). The suppression of dominance behavior and an emphasis on sharing as common features of group relationships must have been important aspects of the success of early groups of hunter-gatherers (e.g., Boehm 1993; 2001; Price 1995).

There is an archaeological maxim found in numerous textbooks and edited volumes, assuming that more than 99 % of our human past was spent as hunter-gatherers. But is this really true? Have humans always been hunter-gatherers? When did egalitarian behavior emerge? These questions are related to the development of self-awareness, the recognition of kinship, and the emergence of human society.

We have not always been hunter-gatherers. Our earliest ancestors started on the path to being biologically human more than 6 million years ago. But when did the groupings of our ancestors take on a recognizably human form

– when did we change from being simply social animals to members of human society? The archaeological remains of our earlier ancestors through the Middle Palaeolithic are remarkably unstructured. Little patterning can be observed in the distribution of artifacts and occasional features at these places of residence or feeding. The term 'gatherings' was coined by Clive Gamble (1999) to describe concentrations of remains – the archaeological sites – and the groupings of early humans in this murky period of the human past, before we became hunter-gatherers.

When did we make the transition from roving, foraging groups to egalitarian bands of hunter-gatherers integrated into human-like societies? Such societies are defined by kin-structured social relationships, whereby food, property, and information are shared. Status is ephemeral and earned through achievement, held only by the individual who gained it and not mandatorily passed on to offspring. Non-kin relationships are maintained by the exchange of goods or foodstuffs. It is these aspects of social organization that truly distinguish the emergence of hunter-gatherers. Steven L. Kuhn and Mary C. Stiner (2001) have argued that the transition to life as hunter-gatherers took place during the Upper Palaeolithic. Evidence supporting their arguments includes the appearance of regularly patterned materials and distributions at archaeological sites, distinctions between residence and procurement locations, exchange of exotic materials, and technological solutions to seasonal or regional differences.

RECENT CONSIDERATIONS

If we accept that egalitarian behavior is an artificial construct created by small-scale hunter-gatherer societies as a means of maintaining social relationships and reducing the transaction costs of exchange, then the emergence of inequality is perhaps not such a remarkable development, but rather a result of the relaxation of the norms and constraints that enforced equality. In this sense, we do not need to explain where dominance behavior comes from, but rather consider other aspects of the emergence of inequality. Several studies from the last two decades shed more light on this question and some of the important factors involved.

Surplus

Polly Wiessner's (2002) classic study of egalitarian structures and the institutionalization of inequality among the pre-colonial Enga in Papua New Guinea provides a number of insights. Her study focuses on a period of some 250 years after the introduction of the sweet potato, during which widespread exchange networks developed and hierarchical inequalities began to be institutionalized. Population grew and subsistence changed from shifting taro horticulture and hunting and gathering to a **surplus** economy based on sweet potato cultivation and intensive pig husbandry.

Surplus was essential to the changes that took place in social organization. Distributed power among hunters, traders, warriors, ritual experts, and managers took on a hierarchical form with leaders directing the economy (Wiessner 2002). Wiessner's study emphasizes that changes came about when there was consensus among leaders and the people regarding the benefits of new practices.

A number of authors have recognized the role of surplus in the emergence and maintenance of inequality. Gerhard Lenski's (1966) theory on the origins of social inequality invoked the role of economic surplus, derived from technological and environmental advantages, in creating demographic, productive, and political contexts that are responsible for the extent of inequality in material wealth. Lenski suggests that in societies with a reliable surplus, some households can accumulate larger shares as long as others can obtain the minimum needed to survive. He further argues that this surplus makes larger settlements possible, facilitates occupational specialization, and brings about the control of decision-making by a few. Alain Testart (1982a, b) argued that surplus and food storage were fundamental aspects of social inequality among hunter-gatherers. Brian Hayden's (2001) comment on the production of surplus as a condition for the emergence of inequality is worth repeating. As Wiessner described the situation among the Enga (2002, 234): “Quantitative economic gains are applied to bring about alterations in the social order [...]”.

Wealth

Another very useful distinction has been made by Eric A. Smith et al. (2010) regarding different kinds of wealth. They argued that inheritance of wealth is the mechanism for increasing inequality in small-scale societies. They describe three kinds of wealth: material, relational, and embodied. Material wealth is what we commonly think of in terms of land, livestock, slaves, jewelry, and other objects. “Relational” wealth involves an individual’s place in society in social networks, including the number of connections a person or groups may have. What Smith et al. call “embodied” wealth involves personal conditions and abilities – health, strength, endurance, intelligence, knowledge, and skills. One of the reasons that the early emergence of inequality may be so difficult to identify is that these other, non-material forms of wealth may have been predominant. As Kenneth M. Ames (2007) has pointed out: “The archaeology of egalitarianism is based on negative evidence. Evidence for inequality is primarily material wealth.”

Feasting

Hayden (1995a; 1997; 2014), among others, has had a lot to say about the emergence of inequality and social change. Hayden points to feasting as a major mechanism in the process of creating change. Large, competitive feasts are occasions for the display of surplus, the consumption of rare and valuable foods, and often involve gift giving. Such competitive feasting can also be understood as a mechanism for subverting the egalitarian practice of sharing food and property by creating alliances and debts among members of the same group. Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden (2001) document feasting practices in a wide range of societies.

Prestige Technologies

Hayden (1995b, 1998) has distinguished practical and prestige technologies on the basis of the intended use of the materials that are produced. Practical technologies produce functional objects used for various purposes in everyday life. The purpose of creating prestige artifacts is not to perform a practical task, but to display wealth, success, and power. Their purpose is to solve a social problem or accomplish a social task, such as attracting productive mates, labor, and allies, or bonding members of social groups together via displays of success. The appearance of prestige technologies may be synonymous with the rise of social inequality.

Corporate and Network Strategies

The distinction between corporate and network modes of organization (Blanton et al. 1996) involves group vs. individual strategies for achieving and maintaining power in society (Feinman 2000). The network strategy is exclusionary; political actors endeavor to consolidate and monopolize sources of power. This is the direction pointed to by Barbara Bender (1978) in her seminal essay on “Gatherer-hunter to farmer: a social perspective”, and Hayden (1990) in “Nimrods, piscators, pluckers and planters: the emergence of food production”. In the corporate strategy, power is shared and divested in different groups or social segments. The exceptional archaeological manifestations of institutionalized social inequality – rich burials with impressive offerings, elaborate residences for leaders, monumental constructions – are associated with the network mode and individual power, while the alternate corporate mode is also hierarchical but produces much less conspicuous archaeological evidence (Drennan et al. 2010).

VISIBILITY OF INEQUALITY

There are a number of reasons why institutionalized inequality is difficult to detect in its early stages. The emergence of social inequality is a problematic issue in large part because the evidence is poorly visible, uncommon, and contentious. Different pathways to hierarchical organization (e.g., Drennan et al. 2010; Feinman 2000; Hayden 1995a) mean that the material expression of emergent inequality may vary in time and space. In the same vein, emerging inequality is not likely to be a linear process. In other words, an individual, family, lineage, or group may achieve wealth or power for a period of time and lose that status as conditions change or others gain advantage. Such oscillation is reported in various archaeological (e.g., Anderson 1994; Marcus 1992) and ethnographic cultures (e.g., Leach 1954).

As Ames (2007) noted, archaeology has relied on material wealth as evidence for social inequality. If material wealth was not important in social relations, then inequality will be difficult to detect archaeologically. This point follows closely on the distinction of corporate vs. network strategies for gaining and holding power. Corporate strategies may rely on relational wealth and not produce elaborate manifestations of prestige goods or labor. Ames also notes the difficulty of identifying inequality in the past because "the absence of any evidence does not necessarily mean the absence of ranking or inequality" (Ames 2007, 508).

The material evidence for social inequality comes in several forms. Robert D. Drennan et al. (2010) mention three categories of evidence that provide information on inequality: burials, household artifact assemblages, and public works. Elaborate burials, especially of children, are often taken as diagnostic of status differentiation (e.g., Ames 2007; Peebles/Kus 1977). Differences between the assemblages of artifacts recovered from different household units are taken to reflect differences in social status, wealth, and economic and other activities (Hirth 1993; Smith 1987). Other kinds of evidence have also been proposed, including feasting and prestige goods production. Ames (2007) lists various kinds of archaeological data useful for the study of inequality and argues for multiple lines of evidence, including house sizes and contents, grave contents and tomb sizes, differences in diet, prestige items, control of space and others.

Another factor that may make the recognition of emerging inequality difficult concerns conditions of chaos or variability at the time of the transition to agriculture. A recent publication on the origins of agriculture (Price/Bar-Yosef 2011) reports an interesting phenomenon that involved variation not pattern. In the one or two places around the globe, where data on the transition to farming are relatively rich, there appears to be a period of chaos (Goring-Morris/Belfer-Cohen 2011), a "zone of variability" at the time of the origins of agriculture (Weiss et al. 2006). Bruce D. Smith and Richard A. Yarnell (2009) have described this as a period for the auditioning of many possible new options in human adaptation. An absence of patterning or repeated occurrence will mean a lack of clarity in the evidence available. These limitations outlined here are above and beyond the normal opacity of archaeological data, particularly from periods in the distant past.

ORIGINS OF AGRICULTURE AND INEQUALITY

It has been argued elsewhere that institutionalized, hereditary status differentiation probably began with the Neolithic (Price 1995; Price/Bar-Yosef 2010). The consensus of norms and sanctions that maintained "equality" among hunter-gatherers began to unravel with the growing surplus of foods that were a result of farming, particularly cereal cultivation. Following a brief discussion of some of the relevant factors involved in the origins of agriculture and the rise of institutionalized social inequality, we offer a scenario for the emergence of inequality in Northern Europe and some of the evidence that may document this process.

Current thinking suggests that the search for causality in terms of the adoption of agriculture should focus on the realm of human choice, rather than forcing models involving changes in climate, environment, or population. At the same time, the almost worldwide synchronicity of the origins of agriculture requires some global impetus. Changes in levels of carbon dioxide are argued here to provide such a driver. Several points from recent studies are reiterated as they provide useful insight regarding the rise of inequality and the origins of agriculture. The importance of surplus as the funding basis for social, economic and political change seems essential. The distinction of material, relational, and embodied wealth may help us to understand the shortage of evidence for inequality in the early part of the Neolithic.

The Neolithic meant the production of surpluses based on domesticated plants and animals and involvement in both local and long-distance exchange that intensified economic production. The decisive factors, leading hunters to become farmers, are more likely correlated with the access to new goods, ideas, and organization than new ways of obtaining food. It seems most reasonable to suggest a scenario in which interaction through exchange networks among foragers and farmers, involving people, ideas, and materials, fostered the adoption of agriculture, participation in new forms of social and economic organization, and the rise of hierarchical leadership in society (Price/Bar-Yosef 2010).

The emergence of agriculture and social inequality likely took place together, although surplus would have been necessary as a basis for wealth. A 30–50 % increase in atmospheric carbon dioxide occurred at the end of the Pleistocene (Sage 2006). Jeremy D. Shakun and colleagues (2012) demonstrated that rising temperatures were correlated with – although generally lagged behind – increasing levels of CO_2 at the end of the Pleistocene. Jennifer Cunniff et al. (2010) found experimentally that both C_3 and C_4 plants responded positively to experimentally replicated changes in CO_2 levels from the glacial to post-glacial, with vegetative biomass nearly doubling and a yield increase of 50 % in C_3 species.

Plants, of course, metabolize carbon dioxide to grow and produce tissue. An increase in atmospheric CO_2 would have resulted in larger plants and denser vegetation in many areas. Agriculture originated in regions where resources were relatively abundant and an increase in plants would certainly have brought more attention to their use as food, particularly cereals. Cereal grains are an almost perfect food for storage as they are designed to survive for long periods with a hard shell protecting a rich package of carbohydrates. The domestication of wild cereals likely took place as these valuable, storable resources were cultivated outside their natural habitat. Animals were no doubt domesticated as a source of protein, but it is important to remember that these fauna provided grain storage on the hoof.

In the context of the increasing availability of a storable food surplus, dominance behavior likely reemerged in human society as egalitarian sanctions relaxed. Surplus and storage permitted the acquisition of wealth and prestige; inheritance may have permitted the accumulation of wealth across generations. The paucity of material evidence for the accumulation of material wealth in the Neolithic suggests that corporate strategies may have been operating to create hierarchical organization in human society. Wealth may have been largely present in a relational form involving connections and group decision-making rather than individual control. Feasting may well have been one of the mechanisms used to emulate food sharing, while in fact creating prestige and power for the hosts.

THE INTRODUCTION OF AGRICULTURE IN NORTHERN EUROPE

This section focuses on the Early Neolithic and the Funnel Beaker culture in Southern Scandinavia and Northern Germany, dating from approximately 4100 to 3300 BC. After roughly 3000 years of fermentation, agriculture began to spread from the ancient Near East to the European continent, bringing domesticates, new architecture, artifacts, technology, and certainly many new ideas and much new knowledge. The first European farmers appeared in the Aegean region after 7000 BC. Agricultural practices moved across the Balkan Peninsula shortly thereafter and then spread in a two-pronged movement along the Mediterranean coast and into Central Europe. Much of Central Europe was occupied by Early Neolithic farming groups by

5000 BC, but expansion into Northern Europe was delayed by 1000 years or more.

Current evidence suggests that the earliest well-dated Early Neolithic, including the first domesticates in Northern Europe, is found at several sites in northernmost Germany from ca. 4100 BC (Hartz 1999; Hartz et al. 2002). These first farmers in Northern Germany moved quickly into Southern Scandinavia. One of the remarkable aspects of the spread of farming into Scandinavia is the apparent speed of the process. Radiocarbon dates from Early Neolithic sites in Northern Germany, Denmark, and Southern and Central Sweden suggest that this large region was occupied by farmers within a few hundred years. The earliest dates for distinctly Neolithic items lie consistently between 4100 and 3800 BC across this region.

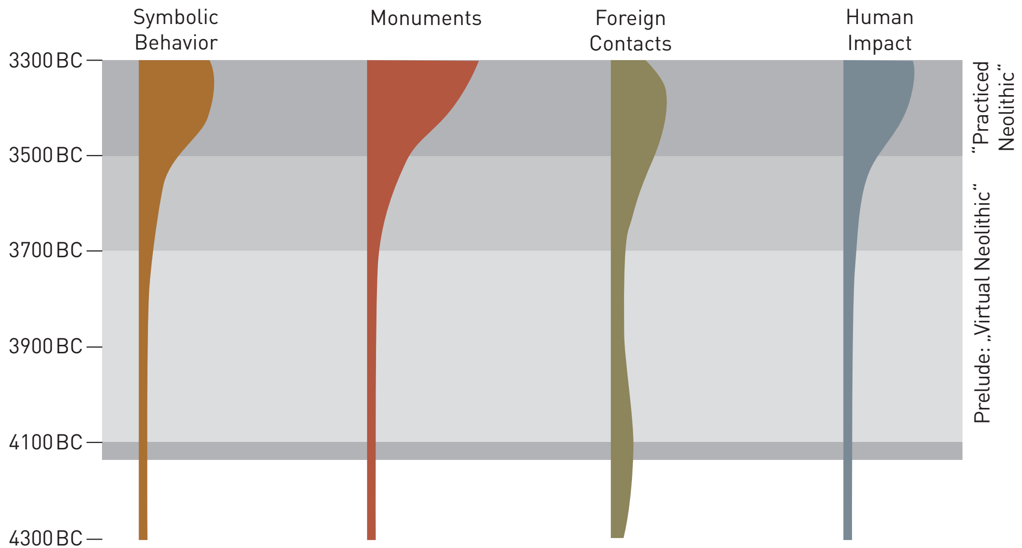
The arrival of the Neolithic in Scandinavia is identified by the presence of domesticated plants and animals, accompanied by a number of innovations, including thin-walled pottery, new pot shapes and large polished flint axes for forest clearing and timber work, along with a related flint-mining industry, weapons such as ground stone battle axes, grinding stones for processing cereals, copper axes as well as flint daggers, personal ornaments made of amber and copper, and monumental construction. This complex of things and practices defines the Funnel Beaker culture (TRB).

Nevertheless, the details of the transition are hard to come by. Evidence from the period from between 4100 and 3700 BC is sketchy. While a variety of the Neolithic elements was present from the onset of this period, such as domesticated plants and animals, thin-walled pottery, polished flint axes, flint mines and bog offerings, the more substantial impact of the Neolithic way of life is not seen before ca. 3700 BC culminating around 3500–3300 BC (Sørensen/Karg 2013). For example, there are almost no burials known between 4100 and 3700 BC. Changes in the diet during that time are difficult to assess due to the general absence of human bone. The number of initial Neolithic settlement sites is limited; both residential sites and hunting stations occur, often in continuous succession at Late Mesolithic sites. The Funnel Beaker settlements during the 4th millennium were single farmsteads, for example, Strandby Skovgrave (Andersen 1997, 92) or small hamlets as seen at Dagstorp 19 (Andersen 2004, 73–76) and Bad Oldesloe Wolkenwehe (Brozio 2011, 24). There are relatively few houses from the Early Neolithic and the limited house contents are usually not informative. Nothing in the size of the settlements, the type of architecture or the artifact assemblages indicates differences in social status.

The general sequence of development during the Early Neolithic Funnel Beaker period has recently been described as the transition between a “virtual Neolithic” and a “practiced Neolithic” (Furholt 2011). According to Martin Furholt, during the “virtual Neolithic” all elements of the Neolithic package were present, but were in limited use (**Fig. 1**). In contrast, the “practiced Neolithic” after 3500 BC was characterized by an increasing reliance on domesticated plants and animals, and innovative behavior that included new ideology and symbolism expressed in pottery styles and the building of megalithic tombs (Furholt 2011, 116 and fig. 9).

Other sources of information suggest that this change may have begun earlier during the 38th– 37th centuries BC (Klassen 2014, 245). The oldest plough marks are now dated between 3700–3640 BC (Beck 2013, 71). The earliest monumental tombs, the earthen long barrows, were built between 3800–3500 BC, predating both causewayed enclosures and megalithic tombs (Müller 2011, 49). The first wooden chamber in the Højens vej long barrow is dated to 3705–3645 BC (Beck 2013, 77). The earliest dolmen within a long barrow at Almhov dates from 3760–3660 BC (Rudebeck 2010, 215), and at Flintbek between 3630–3350 BC (Mischka 2011). The earliest known causewayed enclosures, Alberdorf Dieksknöll and Starup Langelandsvej, were constructed around 3650 BC and between 3650–3450 BC (Dibbern 2012, 273; Klassen 2014, 211; Lützau Pedersen/Witte 2012).

The enormous allocation of resources to ritual activities after about 3700 BC is generally associated with changes in subsistence economy and social relations (Andersen 2011, 153; Madsen 1990; Müller 2011, 70). The use of the ard for plowing intensified agricultural production enabling a surplus, but probably



Klassen 2000 Dörfler et al. subm.

Fig. 1. Furholt's model of virtual Neolithic with low activity phase and "practical" Neolithic after 3700 BC (Furholt 2011, fig. 9).

also led to population increase and new social relations (Johannsen 2006, 44–45). Development was probably accelerated by the impact of contacts with Central and Southeastern Europe, including copper imports from the Mondsee region in the East Alpine area and contacts reaching as far as the Tripolje complex in the Black Sea region (Klassen 2014, 243). New weapons and jewelry symbolizing power and prestige became available to the early farmers.

SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN THE EARLY NEOLITHIC OF SOUTHERN SCANDINAVIA

In the following paragraphs, we discuss several categories of information that support an argument for status differentiation. There are a large number of spectacular tombs and public works that provide insight on the nature of social organization. The following sections cover the non-megalithic graves, earthen long barrows, and megalithic tombs from the Early Neolithic. A subsequent discussion concerns prestige objects from the period.

Non-megalithic graves

Individual graves during the 4th millennium BC appeared in the form of simple flat graves or non-megalithic graves covered by round mounds or were included in long barrows. Flat graves appear as single burials such as those at Dragsholm (Price et al. 2007) or in small groups like those at the Ostorf cemetery (Lübke et al. 2010). Flat graves were sometimes also associated with megalithic tombs as observed at Rastorf, Flintbek LA3 and Vroue Hede (Brozio 2011, 23, Mischka 2011, 70, Jørgensen 1977, 140, 144), discussed in the next section.

The inventories of grave goods in non-megalithic graves are, on occasion, quite rich and construction efforts substantial, sometimes including a temporary death house built over the graves and final covering mounds or stone pavements (Beck 2013, 55). Males are more commonly found in the single grave burials; distinctive female grave goods have not been reported. Gold objects found in a few flat graves imply status differentiation (Kossian 2005, 109, 356–367, 420). No differences in terms of the quantity of grave goods were seen between non-megalithic and megalithic graves (Tilley 1996, 83–86). Rainer Kossian (2005, 110) and Jan A. Bakker (2011, 270) have argued that social stratification does not appear in any systematic and repeated combinations of artifacts in the graves. On the other hand, Bärbel Woll (2003) suggests that ranking was present based on a hierarchy of grave goods involving: 1) a group with little or no grave goods; 2) a middle group with combinations of mundane, local objects; and 3) an elite group with weapons and metal objects. As an example of a wealthy grave, a non-megalithic burial at Assing was placed under an earthen barrow with the following contents (**Fig. 2**): 1) a flint halberd as a copy of a copper halberd; 2) a thin-butted flint axe; 3) amber beads; 4) an hourglass-shaped amber pendant, 10 cm long; and 5) two transverse arrow heads (not shown). While the value of objects in TRB burials is unknown, different social statuses certainly seem to be reflected in such elaborate artifacts.

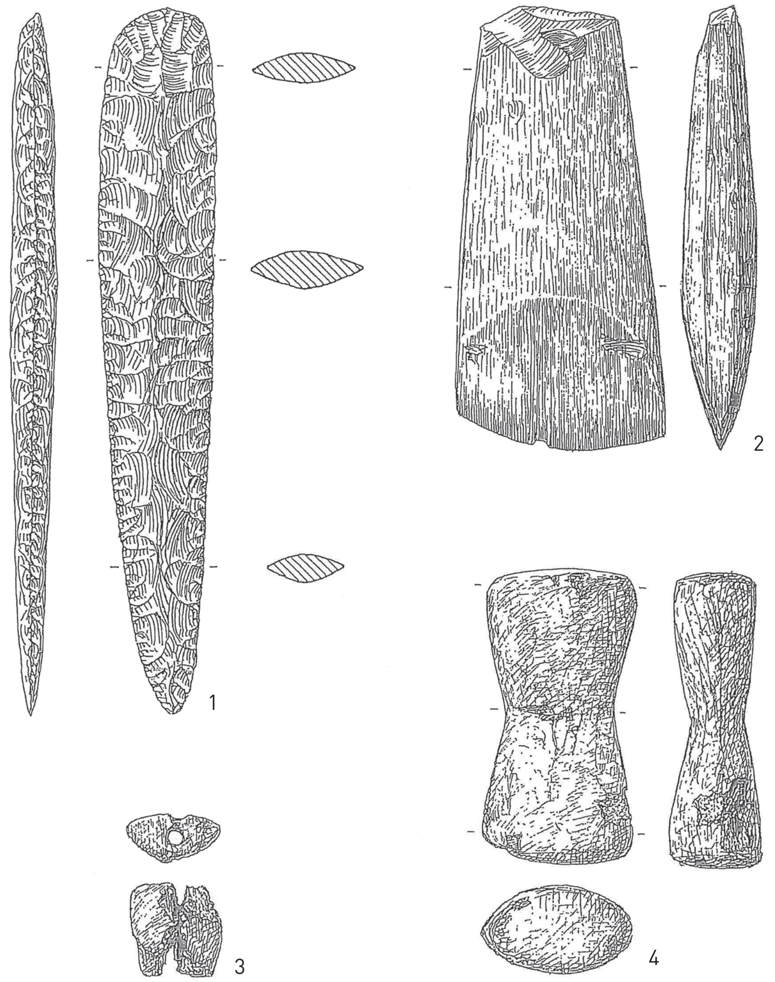


Fig. 2. Flint halberd, polished flint axe, amber bead and amber hourglass pendant (Ebbesen 1992, fig. 14. Drawn by H. Ørsnes).

Earthen long barrows

About 85 earthen long barrows have been identified in Denmark and Scania (Rudebeck 2002, 120–121). Most of these barrows were multi-phase constructions, involving extended ritual activities and a series of repetitive events. The long barrows represent a considerable cooperative social effort for the burial of only a small number of individuals. Due to the poor preservation of skeletal remains, it is unknown whether burial in these monuments was the privilege of certain lineages as suggested by anthropological analysis of remains from the Passy type graves (Chambon/Thomas 2011, 257). However, membership in a specific lineage or similar social group is the likely reason that two young individuals were buried in the primary graves of two long barrows. A six year-old child was buried at the Stengade I long barrow together with four transverse arrowheads and a lugged jar, dating from EN2. A pair of beakers and a scatter of ochre were placed above the grave (Skaarup 1975, 29–32, 202 fig. 23.1–4, fig. 37, fig. 38.2, fig. 40). At Bygholm Nørre Mark (**Fig. 3**), a 13–15 year-old was placed in the primary grave together with a transverse arrowhead and an amber pendant, while four adults without grave goods were placed in a secondary grave (Rønne 1979). A systematic spatial distribution of long barrows may also indicate the role of these monuments as markers of the identity and rights of certain lineages (Beck 2013, 83).

Megalithic Tombs

A building boom involving megalithic tombs took place simultaneously with the arrival of the ard and the construction of causewayed enclosures between 3600 and 3100 BC. An estimated 40,000 megalithic monuments were erected in Northern Europe within a few hundred years. Even though many of the individual monuments were small in size, this vast investment in funerary rites reflects the expenditure of considerable surplus production in the context of joint collective activities (Furholt/Müller 2011, 17).

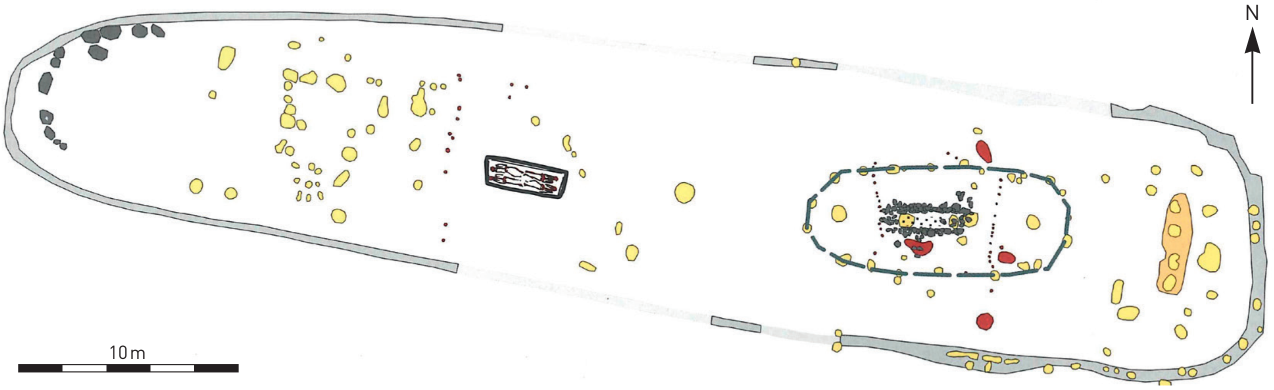


Fig. 3. The earthen long barrow at Bygholm Nørremark. A trapezoidal shape framed by a wooden palisade set in a foundation trench (light grey). Towards the east, a palisade stood, which consisted of four large posts set in a deep trench, surrounded by a wooden structure (yellow). The primary grave held a teenager buried with an amber bead and a transverse arrowhead (grey). The grave was placed at the center of an oval house, but appears to postdate the house. At the center of the long barrow was a rectangular gave with four adults (dark grey) and further west a cluster of postholes interpreted by the excavator as a mortuary house associated with the secondary grave (yellow) (from Eriksen/Andersen 2014, 100 fig. 9).

The proportion of the population that received a megalithic burial is unknown. Initial burial rites may have involved a limited segment of the population, whereby more people were buried in the megalithic tombs later in the period (Sjögren 2003, 252). Regional differences in funerary rites meant that the wealth and status of certain individuals was emphasized in some areas, but not in others (Randsborg 1975). Primary burials in some dolmens were associated with a rich inventory comparable to what is found in some of the flat graves, while others only include one or two clay flasks and perhaps a flint knife.

Geographic clusters of megalithic tombs may reflect a segmentation of the landscape related to the social groups of the monument builders (Andersen 2011, 150; Sjögren 2011, 160–161). Overall, the status of megalithic burials may relate to the family or community of builders rather than individuals. In contrast, some differences in social status were likely represented by the diversity in burial rites and the types of graves: flat graves versus mounded graves versus megalithic tombs of various types.

Causewayed enclosures

Causewayed enclosures are huge sites encompassing areas between 20,000 and 200,000 m^2, delineated by a palisade and one or more rows of interrupted ditches. Causewayed enclosures were built from the 37th century onwards with a clear intensification in construction between 3500 and 3200 BC (Andersen 1997; Klassen 2014, 245; Lützau Pedersen/Witte 2012). While the interiors of these sites are largely empty except for deposits of valuable goods, a number of activities took place along the palisades and in the ditches. These areas contain evidence of feasting, the skeletal remains of animals and humans, and numerous fireplaces as well as pieces of broken pottery. Typically, the trenches were re-cut and refilled; at Albersdorf-Dieksknöll, for example, this took place at least eight separate times (Müller 2014, 188).

The Sarup I enclosure involved long-term planning and the mobilization of a large number of people for its construction. An estimated 100,000 work hours (170 persons for 3 months) would have been required (Andersen 1997, 56). At Albersdorf-Dieksknöll, the interrupted ditches were apparently dug successively involving only the populations of small hamlets (Müller 2014, 187). Smaller groups may have met briefly and repeated ritual acts related to digging and filling in the trenches.

Generally, the causewayed enclosures are interpreted as temporary aggregation sites with a ritual focus, possibly centers of group territories (Madsen 1982) and/or related to funerary rites (Eriksen/Andersen 2014, 293). Other interpretations have emphasized astronomical significance or their use as sites of refuge, or as cattle corrals (Andersen 1997, 301). A recent study argues that rather than being central sites, the enclosures were placed in naturally defined border positions along established paths in the landscape. The enclosures were build at regular intervals corresponding to about one hour's travel (5 km) along important routes, either land- or water-based (Klassen 2014, 240).

Prestige Objects

A number of rare and exotic objects were introduced to Southern Scandinavia during the Early Neolithic period. These materials include exotic kinds of stone, the first metals known in the north, and new forms of weapons and tools. Native, raw material amber was used in a variety of new ways. In addition, there is a new type of axe – the polished flint axe – that appears in huge numbers, reflecting the importance of trade and commercial production in the Early Neolithic.

Jade Axes

Jade axes reached Southern Scandinavia between 4000–3500 BC (Klassen 2004, 347; Skousen 2008, 131; Sørensen 2014, 146). Only 13 jade axes, mainly of the almond-shaped Durrington type, have been accepted as Neolithic imports in Denmark, but contextual information is generally missing (Klassen 2004, 83, 90 fig. 58). The raw material for the jade axes was mined in the Italian Alps and jade axes circulated widely and for sustained periods of time in Central and Western Europe during the 5th and 4th millennia (Klassen 2004, 84). Jade axes in Southern Scandinavia have been interpreted as prestigious objects and their exchange as a means of transmitting agrarian know-how and ideology (Klassen 2004, 87; Sørensen 2014, 162). The jade axes were widely copied in different kinds of stone as well as copper.

Copper

In Denmark, copper objects are found for the first time during the Early Neolithic Funnel Beaker period from 4000–3300 BC. Copper disappears at the end of the Early Neolithic, perhaps as sources disappear in Central Europe, and is only re-introduced in the Late Neolithic period (Klassen 2000, 238). Metallurgical analyses indicate that the majority of the Scandinavian axes were made of East Alpine copper from the Mondsee region near Salzburg in Austria (Klassen 2000, 224; 2004, 72).

More than 135 finds of Early Neolithic copper objects are known, including 103 flat axes, 30 pieces of jewelry, one polygonal battle axe, one halberd and two adzes. Most of the copper pieces are stray finds (83 %). Aside from a few pointed-butt axes inspired by the jade forms, most of the 103 copper axes were thin-butted with a rectangular cross section and splayed edges. A striking number of the copper axes were stray finds (Randsborg 1979, 310). Eight hoards include combinations of copper axes or axes combined with jewelry of copper and amber, while purely copper jewelry is found in certain burial contexts (Klassen 2000, 79). The Bygholm copper hoard from Denmark is shown in **figure 4**.

Polished Flint Axes

Jade axes were immediately copied in local, flint raw material (Sørensen 2014, 162). The pointed-butt flint axes, emulating the shape of the jade axes, date between 4000–3600 BC (Sørensen 2014, 164). The precursor of the thin-butted flint axe with a rectangular cross section was the copper axe of the Gumelnita culture from Northeast Bulgaria. The earliest types of thin-butted flint axes were found between 3800–3500 and a later group of flint thin-butted axes date between 3500–3000 BC (Sørensen 2014, 175).

Polished flint axes are a common find on the agricultural fields of Southern Scandinavia today. There must have been hundreds of thousands of these objects made during the Neolithic period. Production involved the acquisition of raw material, the shaping of a blank for the axe, fine flaking, and polishing of the finished product. Time estimates for pro-

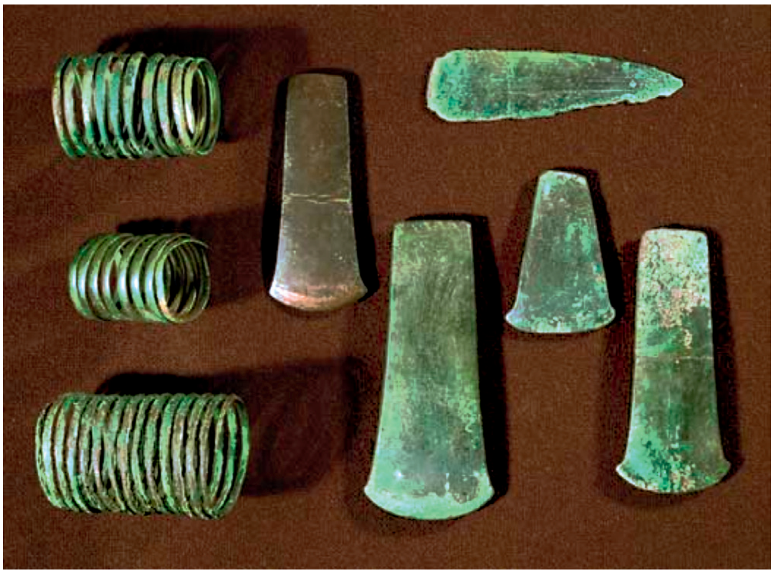


Fig. 4. Bygholm hoard, copper axes, spiral armbands, and a halberd. Denmark (photo: Lennart Larsen, Danish National Museum).

duction from nodule to axe are on the order of 30–35 hours per axe (Madsen 1984). This production time does not include acquisition of the raw material, which in many cases involved a multitude of shaft mines in those limited parts of Southern Scandinavia, where large nodules of flint were present *in situ*. The extraction of flint from the mines in Northern Jutland, Eastern Zealand, and Southwestern Scania represents a significant investment in terms of time and labor to obtain the high quality raw material for these axes. In spite of the abundance of these finely made axes, particularly the large examples were probably prestige items of significant value as well as being important utilitarian objects.

Battle Axes

Polygonal battle axes made of copper and stone originated in Eastern Europe in the 5th millennium and spread to Central Europe and Scandinavia in the 4th millennium. Most Scandinavian axes were locally made in diabase or porphyry; a few polygonal copper axes were imported from Eastern Europe. The early type of polygonal battle axes with a flat neck has been found in a burial at Dragsholm dating from 4036–3712 cal BC, AAR-7418-2 (Price et al. 2007) and at Rustrup dating between 3800–3600 BC (Fischer 1976, 50). Polygonal battle axes with knob-shaped necks have been found at a number of early Funnel Beaker sites in Sweden dating between 3800–3600 BC.

The distribution of certain subtypes of these battle axes suggests interaction between Scania and Zealand and either the Mondsee area in Austria or Mecklenburg-Vorpommern in Germany (Sørensen 2014, 177). Local subtypes were produced even in Norway and in quantity in the Mälarn area of Central Sweden, where these axes may simply have been common male weapons (Hallgren 2008, 228). In Denmark, only 95 polygonal battle axes have been found, suggesting that they were an elite item, perhaps associated with important warriors or older males (Midgley 1992, 457; Zapotocky 1992, 154).

The battle axes might have been used as blunt weapons, but a purely ceremonial purpose of some axes is suggested by the find of a battle axe hafted on a 120 cm long shaft at Cham-Eslen, Switzerland (Christensen 2004, 140; Eriksen/Andersen 2014, 293 fig. 21.15; Hafner 2013, 106 fig. 3). Even though they must have been a symbol of power, they are only rarely observed in funerary contexts. Most polygonal battle axes are stray finds (70 %) with about half of these found in wet areas perhaps representing votive offerings. About 15 % were deposited in graves or presumed graves and a few were found in settlements (Ebbesen 1998, 78). The tongued clubheads probably served the same function as blunt weapons and status symbols (Ebbesen 1988, 18).

Halberds

Copper halberds, such as the piece from the Bygholm hoard (Fig. 4), were copied in local flint raw material. The results were asymmetrical, surface retouched flint halberds. A total of 134 flint halberds has been found, mainly distributed in Eastern Denmark, including 85 halberds from the Early Neolithic period and a smaller group from the early Middle Neolithic period (28 halberds). Most of the halberds are single finds or finds without information (71 %), a few were placed at or in graves (9.8 %) or in hoards (9.1 %) (Ebbesen 1994).

Amber Beads

Amber beads are a new type of personal adornment found in large numbers in the Neolithic as opposed to the rare animal shaped amulets made of amber in the Mesolithic period. While Mesolithic amber objects often retained their natural shape with minimal alteration of the surface, Neolithic amber beads were worked into a variety of shapes emulating copper axes and jewelry as well as in the shiny and gold colored appearance (Axelsson et al. 2015, 657–658, 665; Larsson 2001). In the Danish Early Neolithic, 90 % of the amber is found in Northern Jutland; a large number of amber beads were recovered in ca. 40 hoards (e.g., **Fig. 5**) and some beads are found in graves (Bech 2008; Ebbesen 1995). In the Middle Neolithic period, amber is found all over Denmark and in Sweden – primarily in the megalithic graves. Only 8 small hoards date during this period. Differences in methods of deposition from predominantly votive offerings to grave goods suggest a change in the role of amber from a collective resource to beads of more varied shape associated with individuals in the Middle Neolithic (Axelsson et al. 2015; Sjögren 2008). The hoard of amber from Denmark is shown in figure 5. A small lugged beaker full of amber was deposited in a lake or swamp near Sortekær in Western Jutland. The contents included 1548 small tubular beads, together with a large number of beads of other shapes, pendants, as well as spacers with drilled holes. The hoard includes both semi-finished new and used beads.

The distribution of the prestige objects described above reflects the intensification and consolidation of extensive exchange networks that took place at the beginning of the Neolithic in Southern Scandinavia. Trade of non-local artifacts became an important element in new concepts of power and prestige. Exotic weapons and jewelry referred to remote people and places rather than the ancestors. Many of the prestige objects were found in caches or hoards rather than in graves, indicating that these items were highly valued resources in social negotiation and prestige accumulation outside of the mortuary domain.

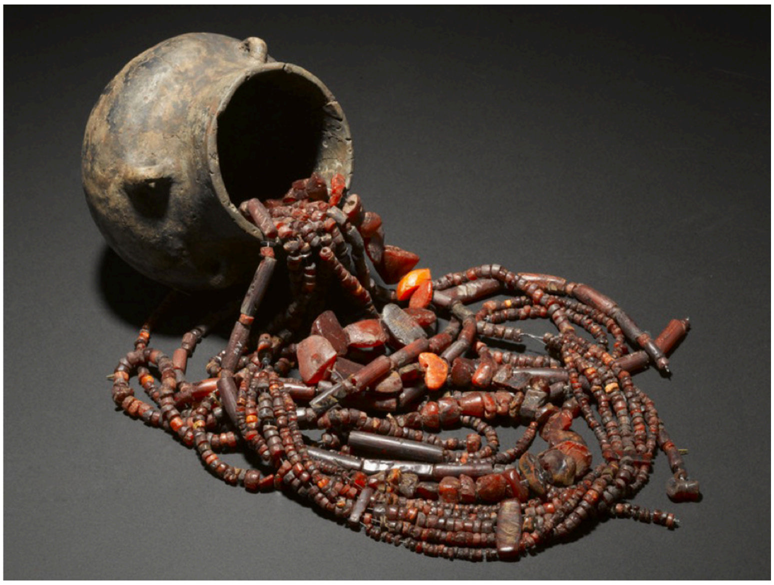


Fig. 5. A hoard of amber necklaces, beads, and spacers found in a TRB pot from Sortekær, Denmark (photo: Lennart Larsen, Danish National Museum).

IN SUM

Current evidence suggests that the search for causality in terms of the adoption of agriculture should focus on the realm of human choices, rather than forcing models requiring changes in climate, environment, or population. Human groups at the onset of the Neolithic participated in a larger sphere of trade and formalized the higher status of certain individuals through burials and other practices. It seems most reasonable to suggest a scenario in which interaction through exchange networks among foragers and farmers, involving both ideas and materials, fostered the adoption of agriculture, participation in new forms of social and economic organization, and the rise of hierarchical leadership in society (Price/Bar-Yosef 2011). The reasons that hunters became farmers in Southern Scandinavia can more likely substantiated in the access to new goods and ideas than in new ways of obtaining food.

The Neolithic is associated with the production of surpluses based on domesticated plants and animals and involvement in both local and long-distance exchange that intensified economic production and confirmed social differentiation. The evidence for the almost simultaneous origins of agriculture and social inequality from our perspective is very convincing. The introduction of agriculture was accompanied by a number of innovations and changes in economic and social organization. After a period of adaptation or a "virtual Neolithic", the beginnings of social inequality likely accompanied the increases in food surplus and a growing population especially following the introduction of the ard around 3700 BC. The amount of grave goods in some non-megalithic graves and dolmens and the few select graves placed in the earthen long barrows suggest a strong and public focus on particular individuals.

Likewise, the presence of local weapons and jewelry in addition to long-distance imported objects displaying wealth and power indicate that certain individuals had achieved new social roles. A number of these objects, such as oversize flint axes, amber jewelry, and weapons, were prestige artifacts produced not so much to perform practical tasks, but to display wealth, success, and power. The presence of these prestige technologies and the costly metal objects indicate the evolution of new social roles. Only in a limited number of cases were the weapons and copper objects used as grave goods, presumably celebrating the status of certain individuals as observed in the grave from Assing shown above. Interestingly, most of the prestige objects were deposited individually or as a component of hoards, probably in connection with public ceremonies.

Nevertheless, the evidence for social inequality remains tenuous and continues to be debated. Social inequality does not appear to have been expressed in dramatic displays of individual wealth or power. Social hierarchies may have been weakly developed in terms of individual authority. A group-oriented society is suggested by the collective enterprises of monument building as well as the hoards and wet area sacrifices. Requirements for labor and leadership are debated with regard to the causewayed enclosures, but must have been small-scale regarding the burial monuments. Early Funnel Beaker communities seem to have balanced a weakly developed leadership with an ideology oriented towards collective social groups, managed by investing vast amounts of resources in rituals.

Ritual depositions of objects were common during the Funnel Beaker period in Southern Scandinavia. Wetland deposits of single pots are among the earliest deposits in the Neolithic. Later in the Early Neolithic, these offerings included evidence of feasting, the sacrifice of oxen and in some cases of young people (Koch 1998, 169–171; Bennike 1999). Numerous deposits of polished flint axes, amber necklaces and pendants were placed in buried hoards in wet areas and on dry land. A number of stray finds of weapons, such as battle axes, mace heads and flint halberds, may also have been deliberately deposited (Ebbesen 1998). The offerings, sacrifices, and deposition of highly valuable objects represent the removal of an enormous surplus production from circulation in society. The collective effort involved in these depositions can be seen as another aspect of the "public works" employed as part of a corporate strategy to facilitate changes in the social organization of early farmers.

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MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS AND EQUALITY

ABSTRACT

While there are several theories and models concerning the meaning of megalith building, an evaluation of a possible connection between megaliths and inequality is still pending. Some of the areas with a high concentration of megalithic monuments are those that were occupied by Funnel Beaker communities of Northern Europe from 4100 to 2800 cal BC. For the present analysis, an evaluation based on ethnographic data was conducted on different possible characteristics of societies with a megalithic tradition. Among them, a distinct practice of feasting in connection with megalithic monuments and enclosures can be traced. The construction of such monuments possibly indicates a surplus production among the communities that built and used them. One major factor driving megalith building practices could also have been growing competition between groups and communities related to different grave clusters.

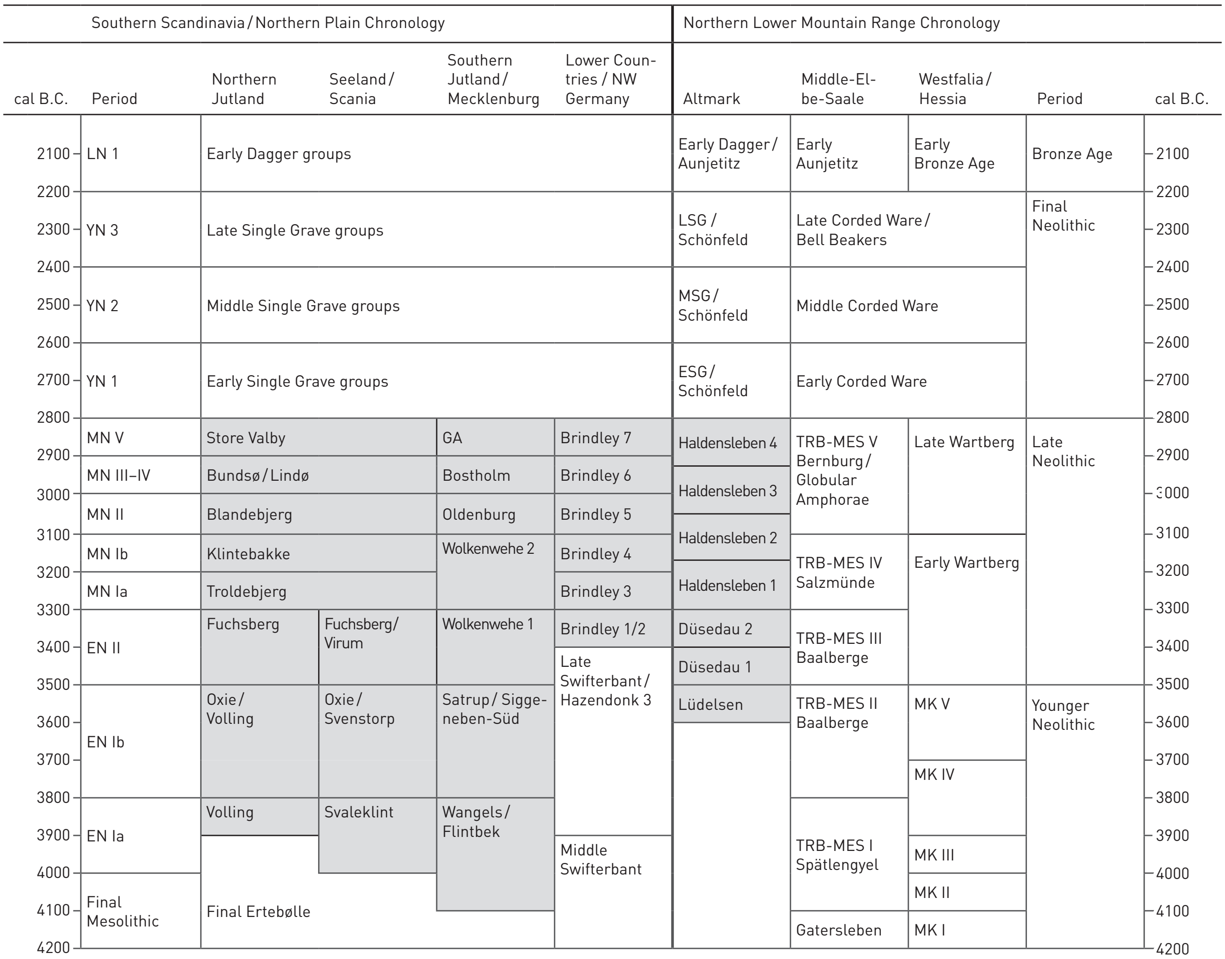
INTRODUCTION

During the period between 4100 and 2800 BC, Funnel Beaker societies settled wide areas of Northern Central Europe. With the first monuments erected around 3600 BC, a megalithic building tradition arose especially in Northern Germany and in Scandinavia (**Fig. 1**, after Müller 2011, 8 fig. 1). Non-megalithic and megalithic long barrows, different dolmen types and passage graves were constructed in this area. The emphasis of the present study focuses on sites in Schleswig-Holstein, which were analysed in the context of the DFG-Priority Program "Early Monumentality and Social Differentiation".

The phenomenon of megalithic structures in Northern Europe has been the subject of several analyses and studies under different theoretical perspectives. Among them are approaches with an emphasis on the symbolic character of megaliths as markers for land-usage rights and access to resources (e.g. Renfrew 1973; 1976), but also such with a focus on the communities that built and used these monuments. In the latter case, megaliths can be interpreted as an indication of competitive behaviour or as representative symbols (e.g. Tilley 1996). Additionally, the connection between economic and ritual factors, such as the practice of hoarding and the role of prestige goods, has been associated with the presence of megaliths (e.g. Kristiansen 1984).

Due to the occurrence of megalithic traditions among many prehistoric, historic and modern societies, an enrichment of these theories with ethnographical case studies appears promising. One of the regions of the world with the highest density of megalithic building traditions is Southern and Southeastern Asia (**Fig. 2**). Among them are also recent cases, which have been analysed and compared with regard to the characteristics of monument building. Based on data related to, for example, economy/subsistence strategies, importance of bovine animals, rights of corporate groups, corporate land tenure, and the importance of feasts and warfare, five characteristics were identified, which can be assumed for societies with a megalithic tradition (Adams 2007, 271–290):

1) A high degree of competitive behaviour both within and between communities. This competition is mainly aimed at gaining



Southern Scandinavia / Northern Plain Chronology						Northern Lower Mountain Range Chronology				
cal B.C.	Period	Northern Jutland	Seeland / Scania	Southern Jutland / Mecklenburg	Lower Countries / NW Germany	Altmark	Middle-Elbe-Saale	Westfalia / Hessia	Period	cal B.C.
2100	LN 1	Early Dagger groups				Early Dagger / Aunjetitz	Early Aunjetitz	Early Bronze Age	Bronze Age	2100
2200									Final Neolithic	2200
2300	YN 3	Late Single Grave groups				LSG / Schönfeld	Late Corded Ware / Bell Beakers			2300
2400										2400
2500	YN 2	Middle Single Grave groups				MSG / Schönfeld	Middle Corded Ware			2500
2600										2600
2700	YN 1	Early Single Grave groups				ESG / Schönfeld	Early Corded Ware			2700
2800										2800
2900	MN V	Store Valby		GA	Brindley 7	Haldensleben 4	TRB-MES V Bernburg / Globular Amphorae	Late Wartberg	Late Neolithic	2900
3000	MN III–IV	Bundsø / Lindø		Bostholm	Brindley 6	Haldensleben 3				3000
3100	MN II	Blandebjerg		Oldenburg	Brindley 5	Haldensleben 2				3100
3200	MN Ib	Klintebakke		Wolkenwehe 2	Brindley 4		TRB-MES IV Salzmünde	Early Wartberg		3200
3300	MN Ia	Troldebjerg			Brindley 3	Haldensleben 1				3300
3400	EN II	Fuchsberg	Fuchsberg / Virum	Wolkenwehe 1	Brindley 1/2	Düsedau 2	TRB-MES III Baalberge			3400
3500					Late Swifterbant / Hazendonk 3	Düsedau 1				3500
3600	EN Ib	Oxie / Volling	Oxie / Svenstorp	Satrup / Siggeneben-Süd		Lüdelsen	TRB-MES II Baalberge	MK V	Younger Neolithic	3600
3700										3700
3800								MK IV		3800
3900	EN Ia	Volling	Svaleklint	Wangels / Flintbek						3900
4000					Middle Swifterbant		TRB-MES I Spätlengyel	MK III		4000
4100	Final Mesolithic	Final Ertebølle						MK II		4100
4200							Gatersleben	MK I		4200

Fig. 1. Chronology of the Northern German/Scandinavian Neolithic. Funnel Beaker phases are marked in grey (Müller et al. 2012, 30 fig. 1).

greater renown among corporate groups by building megalithic monuments.

2) The practice of feasting is one major expression of competition. In this context, a differentiation can be made between cyclic feasting such as harvest feasts, promotional feasts and "feasts of merit". Feasts of merit are closely connected to megalith building.

3) Most societies with megalithic traditions had an unstable production of surpluses. A surplus is often connected to unequal economic situations or outcomes, resulting in richer and poorer households. A surplus can be redistributed in connection with feasting activities and therefore support poorer households. Nevertheless, unequal economic factors are made visible by this practice and consequently foster the development of greater inequality.

4) The importance of descent groups or lineages to which economic and political power are closely connected. Lineages might be seen as the basic social unit, serving not only to make distinction between groups, but also to provide cooperation between individuals.

5) Social and/or economic inequality occurs to varying degrees.

All these characteristics influence each other and represent possible factors to be examined in the context of Funnel Beaker societies. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to retrace these aspects to the greatest possible extent. These characteristics may help to evaluate a possible presence of growing inequality among Early and Middle Neolithic Funnel Beaker communities.

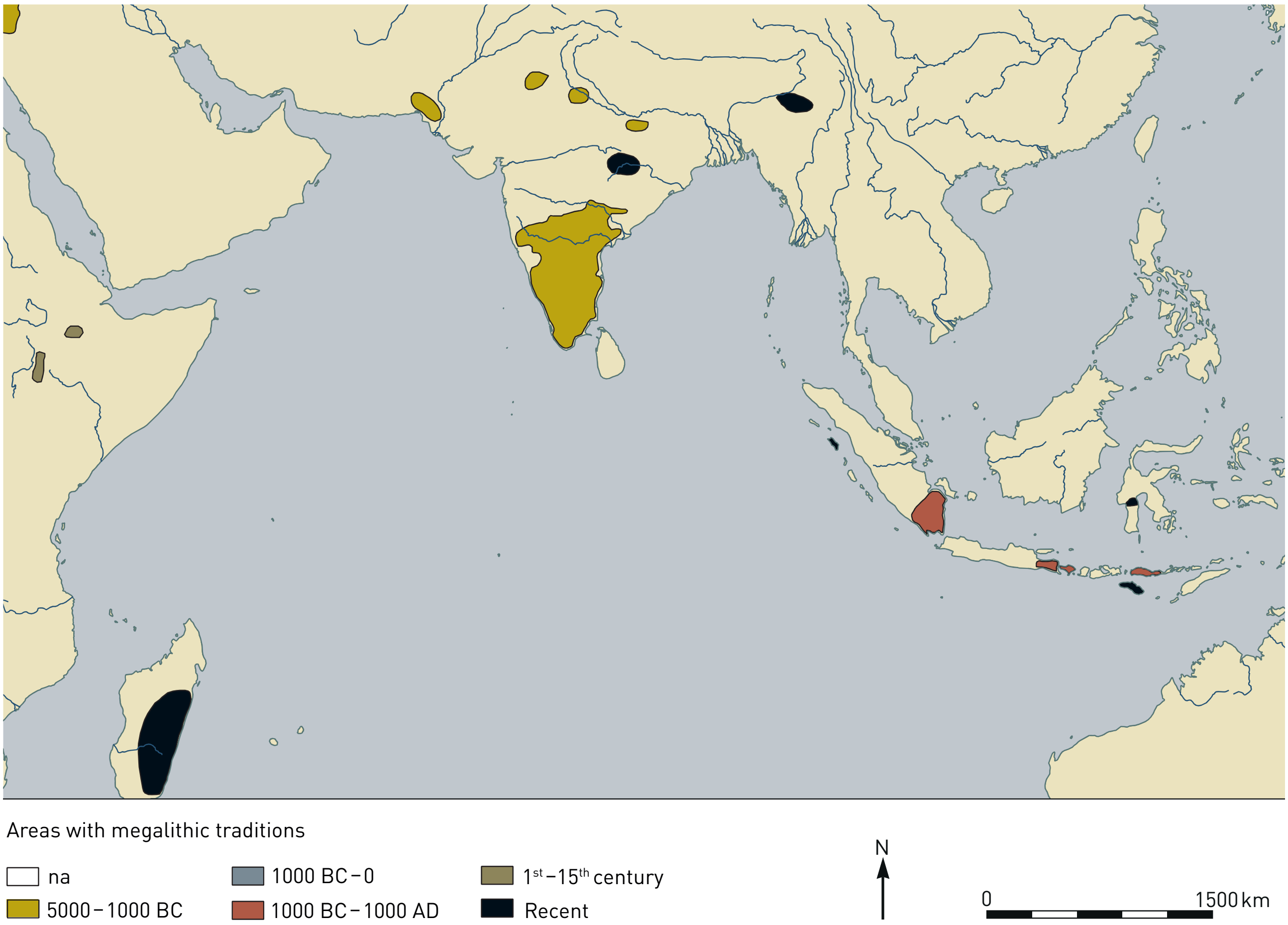


Fig. 2. Map of historical and recent areas with megalithic building traditions (based on Joussaume 1985; Mohen 1989).

MATERIAL AND METHODS

In order to retrace these characteristics in the archaeological record, case studies from Schleswig-Holstein are examined. Although megalithic tombs represent the most important research object, it is clear from the ethnographic record that complex practices, such as feasting, are also significant. Therefore, the database had to be widened to involve not only graves but also tools and sites of communal importance, for example, enclosures as possible markers for the economic potential of a community.

One important site is the enclosure of Büdelsdorf, which was excavated in the 1950s and has been re-evaluated in connection with the priority program (Hage 2016). Graves from Flintbek and Wangels were also included. These graves are located in areas with high densities of megalithic monuments and have been extensively investigated (Brozio 2016; Mischka 2012). Consequently, the investigations provide detailed information regarding chronological development and the overall biographies of the monuments. Lastly, analyses were conducted concerning the distribution of megalithic monuments and flint axes in the districts of Stormarn and the Duchy of Herzogtum Lauenburg. Further data and references include Danish case studies (Tilley 1996) and anthropological data from Danish and Swedish megalithic tombs (Hinz 2014, 85–97).

In addition to descriptive methods used to evaluate the role of different sites, Inverse Distance Weighted Interpolation and basic statistical tests are employed to describe the material from the districts of Stormarn and Lauenburg. In order to test possible correlations, spearman-correlation was implemented.

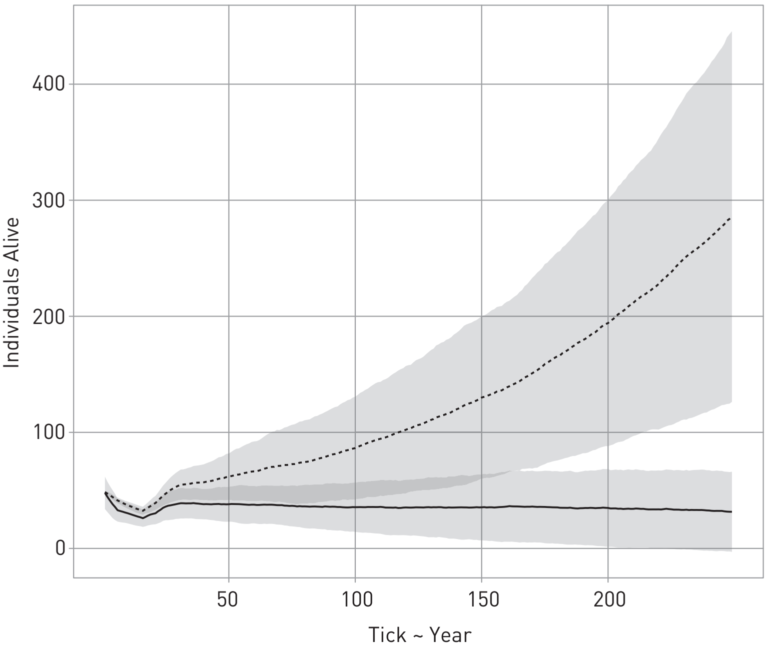


Fig. 3. Rate of population growth based on a mortality table with data from megalithic tombs in Sweden and Denmark. In this context, the upper curve is of interest (Hinz 2014, 91 fig. 7.3).

RESULTS

Lineage-based societies?

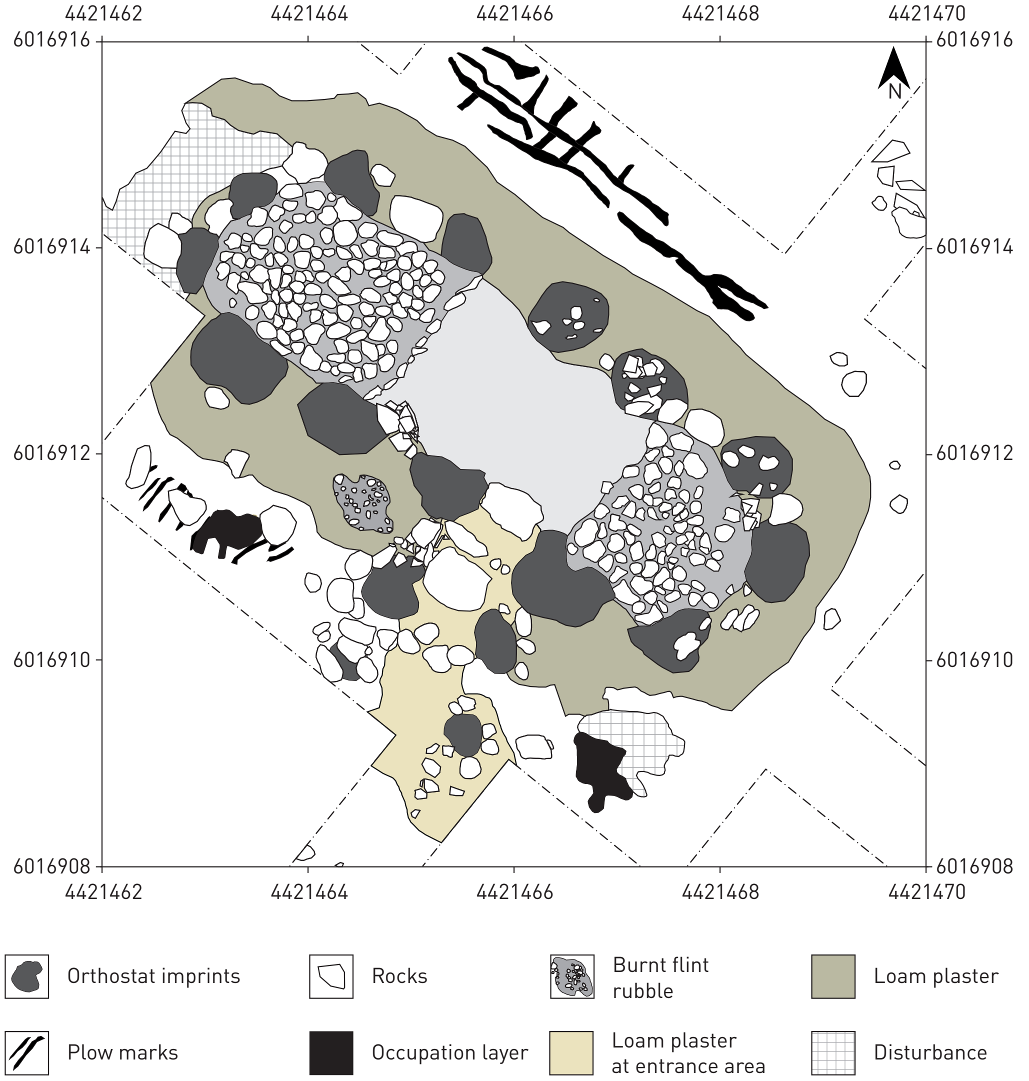
One question connected to possible lineage-based societies in Funnel Beaker groups is whether megalithic tombs were erected and used by descent groups. In terms of a social differentiation and possible inequality, descent groups play an important role. For single households it is often not possible to provide the resources needed to organise feasts or build monuments for the purpose of displaying personal success and renown. With the support of a corporate group, these preconditions can be fulfilled and joint efforts can be used in order to support one's own group (Adams 2007, 277–279).

The matter of lineage-based societies has been discussed several times (e.g. Sjögren 1986, 236), but cannot be answered easily due to the poor preservation of skeletal remains in Northern Europe. Nevertheless, some basic assumptions can be made plausible regarding this aspect.

Based on a growing population and land opening during the ongoing Neolithic, increasing interaction and stronger differentiation between groups can be assumed (Kirleis/Fischer 2014, 91). In this context, collective burials may serve as a connection between members of groups based on shared ancestors, resulting in the hypothesis that collective tombs could be lineage-based and reflect whole communities. Skeletal remains from tombs can be analysed in order to test this. In addition, a mortality table based on different Danish and Swedish tombs shows an underrepresentation of both children and women. To address whether the communities represented in these tombs reflect a living community, a model on the basis of the mortality table was simulated. This model assumes an average number of six children per woman. The result is a curve, which shows the growth of the population based on the mortality table (**Fig. 3**). The curve indicates that the communities represented in the skeletal remains of several graves were indeed viable (Hinz 2014, 85–92).

Beside the possible reflection of viable communities in graves, architectural features are another interesting factor concerning the theory of lineage-based structures. One common example is especially represented by passage graves with the presence of quarters within chambers. One important example is represented by the monument Wangels LA 69 in Ostholstein (**Fig. 4**), because the monument chamber is divided by small stone walls. While the separated segments are paved with stones, the middle section contained no such pavement. In addition, there may have been a further division of the two quarters with stone floors (Brozio 2015, 33–34). This kind of internal structuring in megalithic tombs is also well-known from Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, where extensive research was conducted by Ewald Schuldt during the 1970s. An internal subdivision of the grave chamber is visible in many passage graves. In the two cases of Naschendorf, the quarters are located around the walls of the chamber and separated by standing stone slabs. Furthermore, they are commonly paved with layers of stone (Schuldt 1970a; 1970b).

The spatial arrangement of megalithic monuments must also be considered. There are many examples of local grave clusters consisting of smaller groups of megalithic tombs. The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Orthostat imprints
Rocks
Burnt flint rubble
Loam plaster
Plow marks
Occupation layer
Loam plaster at entrance area
Disturbance

Fig. 4. Plan of the chamber of Wangels LA 69 (Brozio 2015, 33).

contemporaneous use of these groups is indicated by the presence of the same chamber types in different groups. For example, each cluster may include dolmen types and passage graves (cf. Gebauer 2014; Schuldt 1970c; Mischka 2014). For sure, this kind of internal architecture and clustering displays some kind of division, probably due to social units or groups. The most interesting question in this context is whether this division reflects related individual groups. Unfortunately, there are no preserved bones, which could be used for anthropological and aDNA analyses.

Because of missing information from Southern Scandinavian graves, one may include the results from anthropological and aDNA investigations of other, more southern examples with better bone preservation, e.g., the collective burial site of Benzingerode. In general, Bernburg societies show a close connection to the Funnel Beaker communities and to the Wartberg group, for example, regarding the use of collective burials and the division of the chambers in quarters. Nevertheless, collective tombs of the Bernburg group display a wide diversity and presumably exhibit influences from other groups. An extensively investigated example is the grave in Benzingerode. Here, 46 individuals were buried in at least eight quarters (**Fig. 5**). These burials were assumedly made within in a short time span; the ^{14}C dates range mainly

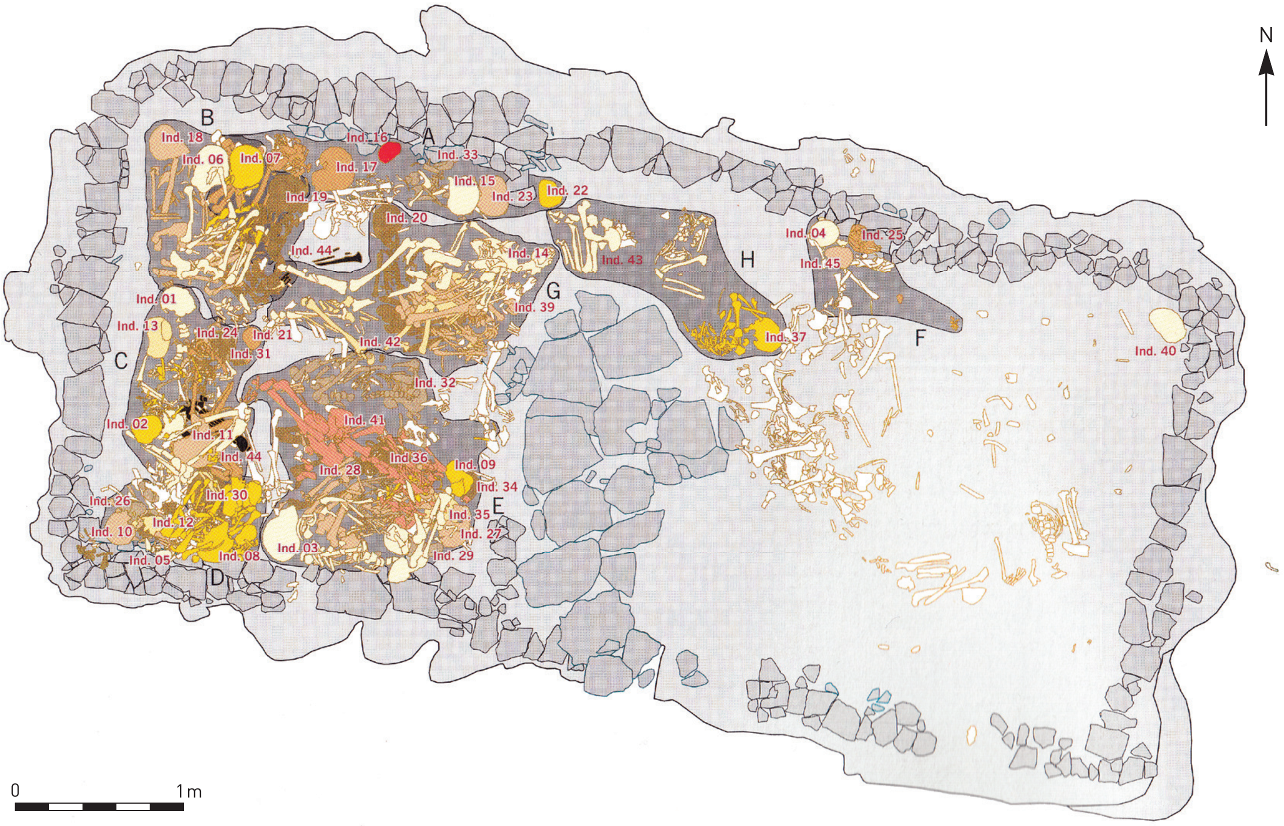
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Fig. 5. The chamber of Benzingerode with the distinct quarters for burials (Berthold 2008, 36 fig. 24a).

from 3100 to 2900 cal BC. The genetic analyses of the skeletal remains show that four pairs of individuals share the same haplotypes; hence, it is likely that they were related through the maternal line. Three of these four pairs are interred together in one quarter while the fourth pair is separated. The remaining nine individuals have different haploytpes and are therefore not necessarily closely related to each other. Overall, the individuals represent an extraordinarily high genetic variability (Berthold 2008, 39–51; Meyer et al. 2008, 123–125).

To summarise, it can be stated that lineage-based structures are indeed indicated by several aspects. The continuous reference to and building activities at one monument and the spatial differentiation within a smaller group of monuments can be interpreted as such. While the anthropological database still has to be enlarged, there are already interesting results from the Bernburg group. Here, biological kinship is displayed by the individuals sharing haplotypes.

SURPLUS

A second hypothesis for an interpretation of inequality is a possible surplus production in Funnel Beaker societies. The existence of a surplus production in ethnographic case studies is often connected to the presence of a limited number of wealthier households, which own considerably more land and livestock than others. This uneven distribution of resources leads to economic inequality connected with differing influence and power among households and descent groups (Adams 2007, 273–276).

Retracing a surplus production in the given archaeological context seems quite difficult, especially if an emphasis is placed on single households. In general, megalith building and the construction of enclosures seem to be indicators of a certain surplus. Taking megalith building as a possible marker for surplus, an estimation of the expenditure of significant work efforts associated with graves by single communities is of special interest. Small grave types, such as dolmens, require only around 5000 man-hours. Bigger grave types, such as passage graves or long barrows, require up to 35,000 man-hours.

Still, these graves do not represent the most elaborated structures; here, expenditure could also amount to around 80,000 man-hours. In order to connect these numbers to concrete communities or groups building them, some hypotheses concerning settlement population are needed. An estimation of the size and inhabitants of Neolithic settlements must include a range of possible variables.

With regard to ethnographic examples, an estimate of five to 25 persons per house can be assumed. This number is based on the length of houses in comparison with ethnographic case studies (Richter 1992; Starna 1980).

It is noteworthy that the concrete relationship between inhabitants is difficult to discern in the record and is highly influenced by the modern view of western societies. Therefore, it will be assumed that some form of kinship is the common bond between these inhabitants. This kinship could have been – but does not necessarily need to be – based on biological affinity (Röder 2012, 111–114).

The precise number of houses per settlement is also hard to estimate. In the following, I will assume three to ten contemporaneous houses. The results of current investigations show that the size of settlements increased steadily during the Middle Neolithic (cf. Brozio 2016, 189). On the basis of these two assumptions and taking the size of a smaller settlement into consideration, I come up with ca. 15 to 200 inhabitants per settlement. 60 % of the inhabitants may have been able to work in communal building activities. In order to evaluate the concrete free time for such building activities, data from Tim Kerig (2010) is used. His research is based on ethnographic and experimental data and offers an approach to calculate free time and time reserved for different activities (**Fig. 6**).

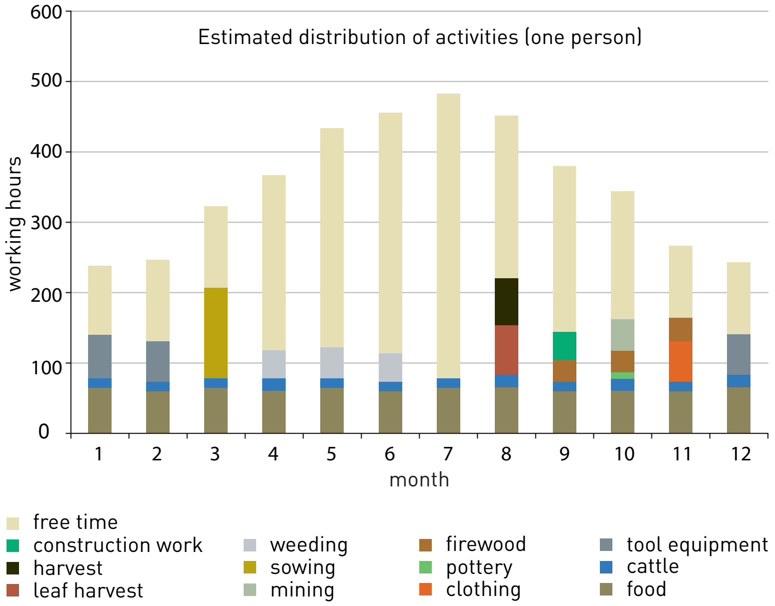


Fig. 6. Compilation of necessary activities around the year. The calculation shows the time required for certain activities and the available free time per person (modified after Kerig 2010, 242).

Based on this calculation, July is the month with the highest amount of free time. During this month, free time ranges from 3636 h to 48,480 h, depending on the group size. For a bigger monument, these calculations indicate several months of building activities. Furthermore, ethnographic examples show that it also could have been usual that more people contributed than were needed for the sake of personal advantages connected to participation (Adams 2010, 282; Hutton 1922, 246–247).

The production of a surplus is a characteristic that is not easily detectable in the archaeological record. While it can be stated that the construction of enclosures and grave monuments indicates a production level beyond the daily need, a differentiation between groups cannot be easily determined.

FEASTING

Ethnographic observations suggest that general characteristics of feasting practices can be relevant in retracing the archaeological data concerning this third attribute of societies with megalithic traditions. Based on these observations, feasting can be described as a practice of high variability in terms of specific arrangement, purpose, participation structure and necessary investment. In general, feasts are implemented to establish social relationships, to gain prestige and to display economic and social success. Characteristics of feasts, which may also be visible in the archaeological record, refer to material culture in general, food, food storage and preparation, as well as the location and the use of prestigious/ritualized items. Obviously, the preparation and consumption of food is a regular factor in feasting activities. The allocation of food, subsequently used for consumption or distribution, is strongly connected to a display of capability and wealth in terms of resources. Of similar purpose is the usage of prestigious items. They mainly serve to display wealth and the abilities of the owner, regardless if this entails a group or an individual person. On the other hand, the use of ritualized items can be a factor, which serves to establish shared identification with a specific event or context. These factors might play an important role regarding the negotiation of influence and public renown, especially in transegalitarian societies (Hayden 2001, 40–53).

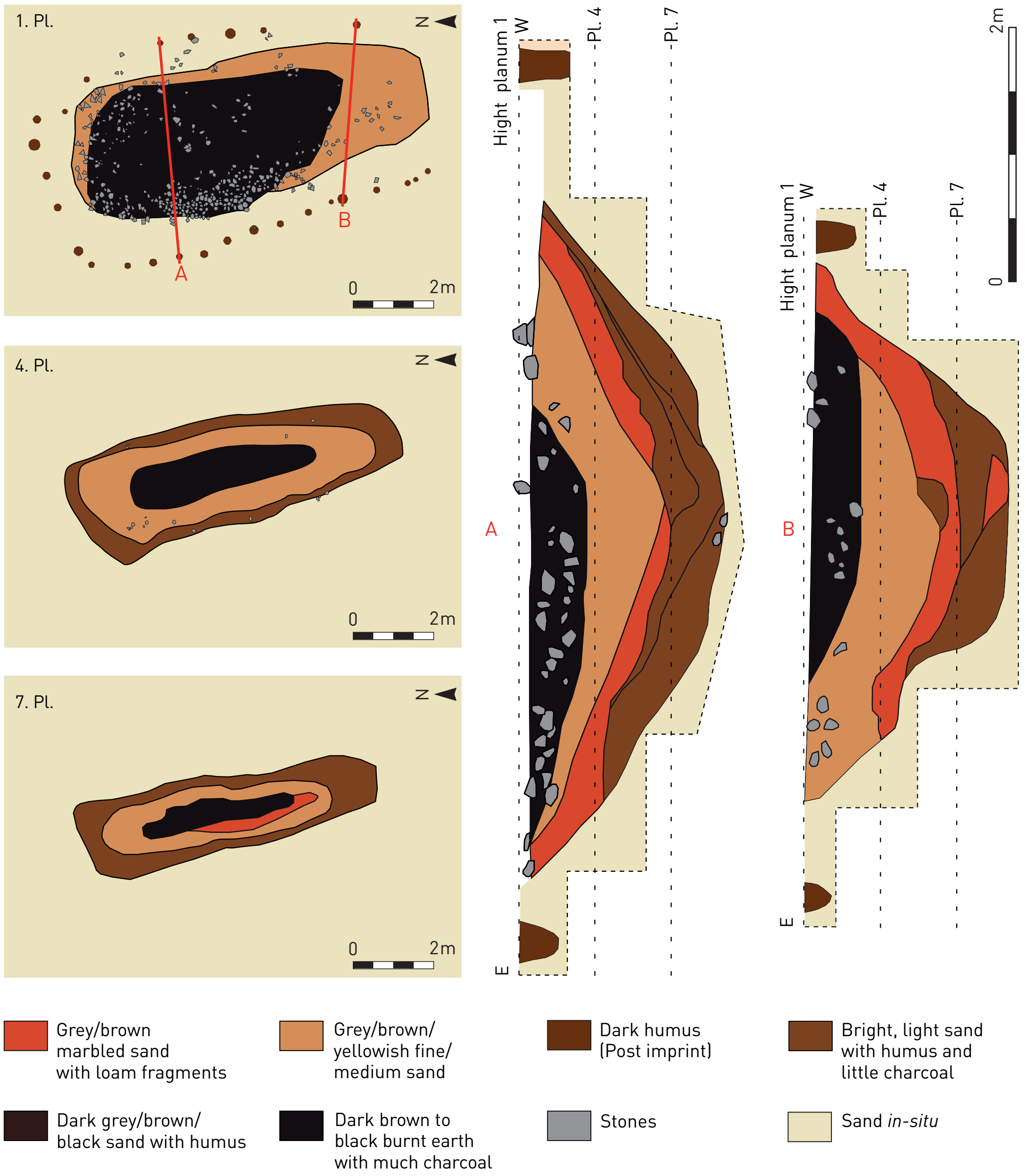
The detection of feasts related to single households seems to be difficult in Funnel Beaker communities due to the unstructured and small layout of settlements. Hence, one can assume that the communal/micro regional level is worth attention for less stratified societies.

An example of a well-researched micro region is the area around Büdelsdorf and Borgstedt, Schleswig-Holstein. In this area, an enclosure and a contemporaneous cemetery/burial ground are located. The enclosure of Büdelsdorf measures over 4 ha and was investigated in the 1950s but also in 2013 and can be characterized by five phases which date from 3700 to 3020 cal BC. After an initial phase as an enclosure, a settlement was installed during the second phase (3300 to 3240 BC). After this phase, new ditches were dug and refilled in short events for a further 200 years (Hage 2016, 31–38). There are some archaeological traces of feasting activities both among the enclosure and on the cemetery.

An obvious characteristic of the enclosure of Büdelsdorf is the special location itself. With a size of 4 ha, it can be seen as a central place providing enough space for large gatherings and participatory activities. The ditches of the enclosure consist of several smaller pits, which together form a complex ditch-system. During the third phase of the enclosure, between 3200 and 3000 BC, there are several special pits with infilling. These pits do have several layers of which the lower ones contain charcoal, scorched stone and burnt clay (**Fig. 7**). Around these pits are smaller postholes, which could indicate, for example, former roof constructions. While these pits were open, material from the settlement period was deposited in them. The pits are oriented to the outer ditches and could, for instance, represent specific food preparation facilities (Hage 2016, 31–51). All in all, the enclosure can be interpreted as a special location suitable for utilization as a feasting facility.

A second point of interest is the presence of special ritualized and/or prestige items, such as ceramic spoons, which were found in the settlement area. These spoons only occur in enclosures and megalithic tombs during the MN Ib. They were found mainly outside graves, so that a connection between the spoons and ritual activities seems probable (Andersen 2000, 55). This kind of pottery has also been found in the cemetery of Borgstedt. Here, depositions of pottery took place in front of the monuments and in pits used for removing earth needed for tomb construction (Hage 2012, 240). Other items of interest are fragments of "Rundnackenäxte", which were also found in the former settlement area. Due to their small shaft hole and the efforts expended for the production of these axes, non-practical purposes and a ritualized or prestige character of the items are indicated. Lastly, decorated stone slabs were found, which do not have any obvious practical interpretation (Hage 2016, 88–89). Therefore, these stone slabs could also be considered as ritualized items.

Similar observations have been made regarding other enclosures of Funnel Beaker communities. For example in Beusterburg, located in an area with influences of Michelsberg, Baalberg and Funnel Beaker groups, some of the ditches contained charcoal and there was also a hearth located near the ditches. Pits and ditches containing charcoal are also present in Stävie and Bjerggård. Moreover, other features, such as the deposition of ceramic spoons, and other selected items, such as battle axes, are common in enclosures (Andersen 1997, 270–275).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-Pl. 7
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0
Grey/brown marbled sand with loam fragments
Grey/brown/ yellowish fine/ medium sand
Dark humus (Post imprint)
Bright, light sand with humus and little charcoal
Dark grey/brown/ black sand with humus
Dark brown to black burnt earth with much charcoal
Stones
Sand in-situ

Fig. 7. Profile and top view of one of the pits from Büdelsdorf. Layers containing burnt clay and charcoal are marked (Hage 2016, 46 fig. 50).

This combination of the deposition and partial destruction of specific and valuable objects and traces of short-term activities points at ongoing activities connected with feasting. The wide distribution of similar items (such as ceramic spoons) and the repeated reference to specific locations, such as megalithic tombs and enclosures, indicate a shared idea of occasions and rituals presumably serving the negotiation of social relations and positions.

COMPETITION

As a last proposition of interest, possible competitive behaviour shall be examined in and among Funnel Beaker groups. Basically, there are two levels of interest: possible competition on inter-group and intra-group scales. Ongoing competition on the intra-group level is possibly visible in the differentiation of grave goods and houses sizes. One major problem in dealing with grave goods from megalithic tombs is the difficulty to connect them

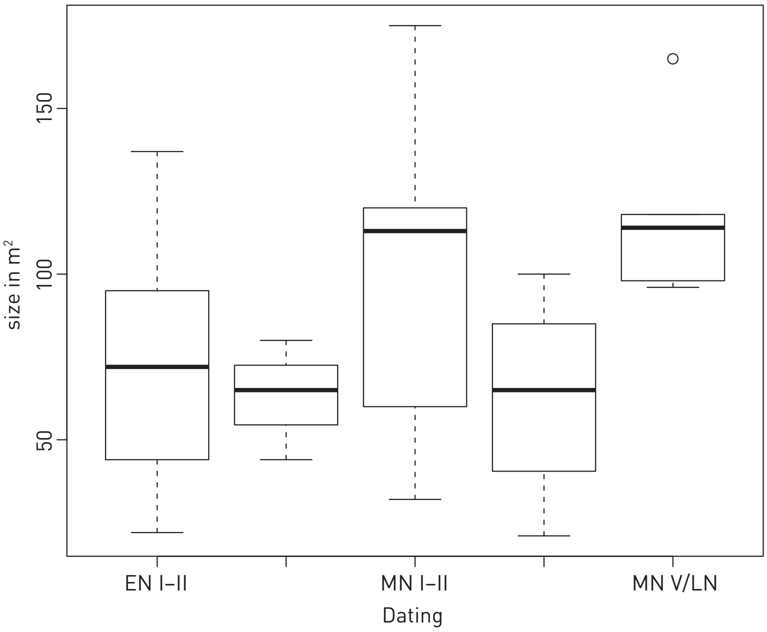


Fig. 8. Boxplot of house sizes in the Early, Middle and Late Neolithic.

with single individuals. Nevertheless, a comparison of grave goods from megalithic tombs and flat graves of varying types did not show any clear differentiation between individuals or regular combinations (cf. Bakker 2011; Kossian 2005, 110). In contrast, houses as the basic unit of everyday life enable an easier comparison of small groups of individuals. An increase of house sizes can be assumed from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic and at the transition to the Late Neolithic (Müller 2013; Artursson 2009).

Nevertheless, there are no outliers visible in a boxplot diagram of the house sizes (**Fig. 8**). Furthermore, the size of the houses per time slice is normally distributed and shows no significant differences. These results do not show any clear differentiation or competition on an intra-group level in terms of house building or furnishing the dead with items of material culture. With regard to inequality, such intra-group competition could have resulted in a social differentiation influencing the establishment of fixed social positions connected to single individuals. Competition on the inter-group level, in comparison, could hint at a growing desire to display abilities and economic success of communities as a whole. While such competition could have been influenced by an intensified display of economic differentiation (Adams 2007), it must not necessarily be connected to social inequality.

One of the first authors introducing the concept of competitive behaviour in megalith research was Christopher Tilley (1996). His analysis is based on the case of Langeland, Denmark. With 271 monuments, Langeland has a high density of megalithic graves. These graves are located both as isolated sites and in clusters. Chamber and mound sizes are variable. Different mound sizes and the number of monuments built can be linked to increasing competition between communities. Due to their endurable character, the graves could have played an important role for the related communities. The model proposed by Tilley implies several building phases. Basically, these phases are represented by different groups building megalithic graves with reference to each other. Hence, the building of a first monument results in building activities by a second group and so on. During this process, bigger graves and new grave types were built, which result in clusters of different grave types of variable size.

This process can also be connected to single grave monuments. In Flintbek, an area near Kiel, multiple grave structures on a small regional scale are preserved. The graves, consisting of dolmen, passage graves and long barrows, are clustered in small groups and reflect a chronological range from the Early to the Middle Neolithic. An extensively excavated and extremely well dated feature is the long barrow LA 3, which measures 53 m in length and 19 m in width. It consists of seven construction phases over 140 years and contained eight non-megalithic graves and four dolmen chambers. While the dolmens are variable with respect to their size, it seems that the overall extension of the monument has been the most important aspect (Mischka 2012, 134–139).

The chronological development of Flintbek LA 3 verifies the importance of monuments as reference points for a community over several decades/centuries. Burial places such as Flintbek, Borgstedt and the island of Langeland display the spatial continuity of such developments from the Early to the Middle Neolithic.

Another example of an extensively used burial site is Rastorf, located near Kiel. Several graves were documented here, despite an overall high degree of destruction. Typical are long barrows associated with complex building phases, during which several non-megalithic and megalithic graves were built (e.g. grave LA 6 a/c), although round barrows also occur. The graves consist of small dolmens, extended dolmens and passage graves, dating from the EN II to the MN Ib. One special feature of this site is the presence of a house structure underneath long barrow LA 6 (Steffens 2009, 34–36).

With regard to these sites, competitive behaviour should be associated with an ongoing increase of chamber and monument size. Therefore, the chamber sizes of megalithic monuments in Flintbek and Rastorf are shown in connection with their dating. The boxplot shows that there is a trend towards growing chamber areas (**Fig. 9**). The earliest chambers are small, while with the ongoing Early Neolithic and during the transition to the Middle Neolithic the chamber sizes increase.

Located more to the south is the area of Stormarn and Lauenburg. In general, the density of monuments is quite low, partly due to decimation caused by agricultural activities and the need for building materials. The only area, which might reflect a relative accurate inventory of monuments, is the Sachsenwald forest. Here, several grave clusters are preserved (**Fig. 10**). These clusters have only been partially investigated or are already destroyed, so that the exact types and datings are largely unclear. Nevertheless, there are indications that the groups consisted of different types of monuments such as non-megalithic barrows and barrows with dolmens. Evaluations of ^{14}C dates indicate a succession of constructions from chamberless barrows to megalithic long barrows (cf. Persson/Sjögren 1995, 82; Mischka 2014, 135). This fact is important with regard to the coexistence of non-megalithic and megalithic barrows in the clusters in and around the Sachsenwald (Schirren 1997, 113–146). Hence, a chronological depth can be assumed. The identified clusters show some differences regarding the length of the barrows (**Fig. 11**). There are significant differences between the Sachsenwald 3 group and Hasenthal. All in all, the distribution shows a certain variance within the groups of tombs, but mainly differences on the inter-group scale. This observation is linked to the assumption that the distinct grave clusters are connected to different groups, who build and used the graves and were willing to separate themselves from each other but still might have been part of a broader community. These groups continued to build monuments over a period of time and were thus able to express differences among themselves.

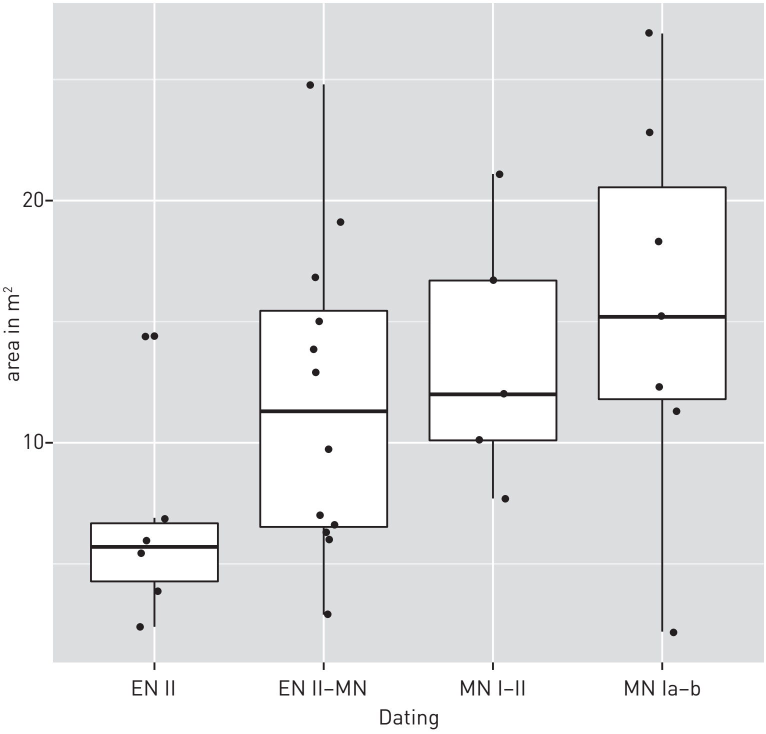
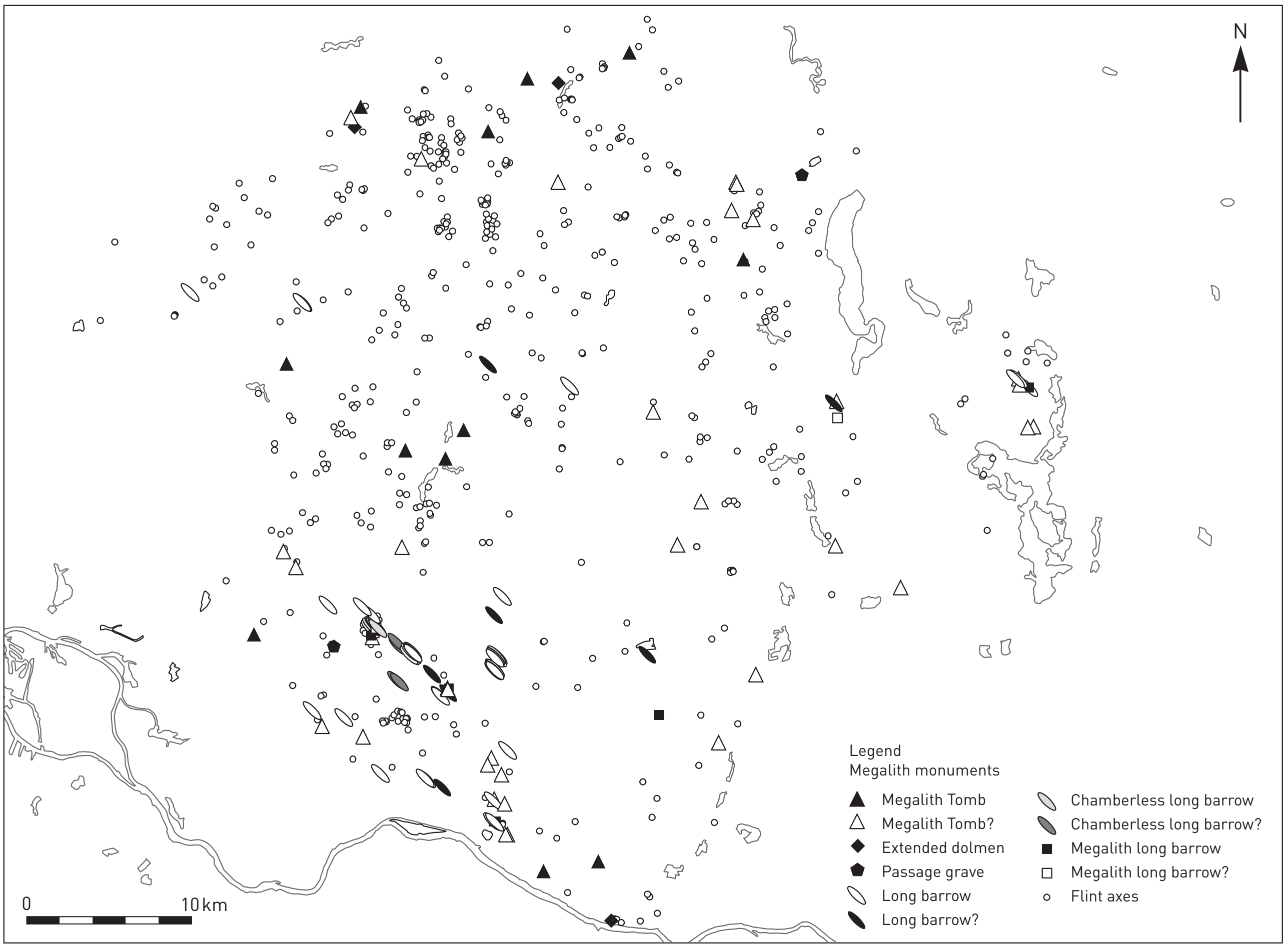


Fig. 9. Boxplot containing the size and dating of graves from Rastorf and Flintbek.

If the variance in size related to grave clusters and dating is taken as an indication of competition, the interesting question on the factors resulting in these differences can be posed. One possible candidate might be the economic productivity of areas. This could be reflected by the occurrence and number of flint axes. Single finds of flint axes are suited as a proxy for economic activities because they are not dependant on the distribution of settlements and graves. Flint axes or fragments of them are a common component of Funnel Beaker settlements both during the Early and the Middle Neolithic, thus they were a tool of significant importance. On the one hand, single finds of axes reflect ongoing activities beyond settlement places and therefore represent actions connected to everyday life (e.g. wood-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Megalith monuments
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◆ Extended dolmen
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Long barrow
Long barrow?
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Chamberless long barrow?
■ Megalith long barrow
☐ Megalith long barrow?
○ Flint axes
0
10 km

Fig. 10. Distribution of grave types and flint axes in Southeastern Schleswig Holstein (Stormarn and Herzogtum-Lauenburg).

working). On the other hand, complete objects might also reflect deliberate depositions, for example, in ritual contexts. Both options represent different activities, which are strongly connected to the ability of settlements or communities to expand their activities beyond settlements and even spend part of their production for non-economic purposes. Therefore, flint axes are considered as markers for the ability or potential of single regions and/or communities to especially intensify woodworking and non-utilitarian activities (cf. Sjögren 2011, 130–132).

Based on this assumption, a possible correlation of the number of flint axes and megalithic monuments was tested. Because of the fragmented database in Stormarn and parts of Lauenburg, only the Sachsenwald was included in the correlation. In order to test the correlation, the numbers of both categories in comparison to the overall density of finds was evaluated. The analysis shows that there is indeed a significant positive correlation (spearman-correlation: 0.61; p-value: 0.01) of both factors.

While indicators for competitive behaviour on the intra-group level are not visible, I would argue that there are indications of competition on the inter-group level. Growing chamber sizes related to internal differentiated grave clusters are strong indicators for the latter presumption. This behaviour can be connected to local economic differences displayed by the number of flint axes.

DISCUSSION

With regard to the question of possible characteristics of societies with megalith building traditions, the presented aspects might provide some valuable information. Furthermore, existing theories can be extended by analyses of these characteristics.

There are case studies hinting at the importance of lineage-based structures. Architectonic features, such as the division of megalithic grave chambers, indicate a connection to social units. Furthermore, skeletal remains from Scandinavia could be linked to viable communities. Thus, a connection of megalith building traditions with lineages is possible.

An enduring, important missing factor is the lack of human remains suitable for genetic analyses. Although the gravesite of Benzingerode is not within the main distribution area of the Funnel Beaker groups, there are several similarities between the Bernburg groups and those groups further to the north, which indicate a strong connection. Most importantly, collective burials in elaborated grave constructions and the division of the chambers in single quarters suggest a similar burial rite. Therefore and until similar analyses are available in Funnel Beaker contexts, it seems useful to extrapolate data from neighbouring societies. The genetic analysis of the skeletal remains from Benzingerode revealed a kinship of several individuals lying together in the grave. Thus, it can be assumed that the spatial deposition of individuals is closely connected to the degree of relational ties. Nevertheless, the great variability of haplotypes may also indicate a combined burial mode, including both a reference to closely related individuals and possible unrelated individuals.

With respect to spatial and cultural distance, the case of the Benzingerode grave shows that several families and/or segments of a community built and used one grave together. The occurrence of grave clusters within a local context may reflect building traditions of local communities. The division of the monuments in distinct groups could then be related to an internal differentiation of these communities based on kinship (cf. Hinz 2009; Gebauer 2014). The indications of descent-based spatial arrangement and a burial custom taking into account the affinity of those buried exhibit the importance of corporate groups in building activities. Thus, there was an emphasis on strong cooperation, on the one hand, and an ongoing differentiation between these groups showing off their ability to construct large monuments, on the other hand.

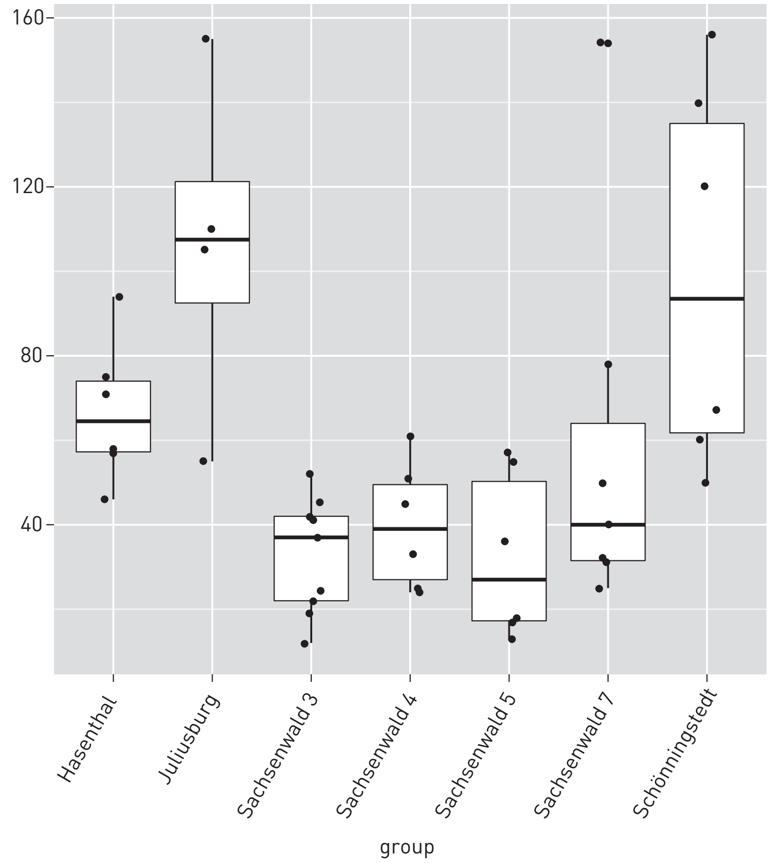

Fig. 11. Boxplot containing the grave clusters located in the Sachsenwald, Dutchy of Lauenburg.

As the question of a possible surplus production is difficult to answer, the presented case study may only suggest such a possibility. The required energy expenditure for different grave types is one important factor. An estimated working amount of 35,000 man-hours for Early Neolithic chamberless long barrows would have taken two months with 60 people. With comprehension of the information available concerning Early Neolithic settlement structures, such a number of inhabitants would presumably not have been available in one settlement. Therefore, cooperation with several other groups would have been beneficial in order to curtail the amount of work and building time for one group.

With a growing number of participants, the need for surplus production (namely food) – supplied by the building group of course – rises due to the fact that all the people participating need to be supplied. This is not necessarily the case concerning smaller grave types such as "Urdolmen". In addition, later grave types, such as passage graves, demanded much more building time than small dolmens.

Regarding the increasing size of settlements, such building activities could also have been viable within one settlement with the participation of all inhabitants. In consequence, this indicates a lesser need for cooperation from the EN to the MN due to increasing settlement sizes and hence the higher amount of available manpower. Simultaneously, the increasing size of monuments and a higher number of buried individuals within them indicates growing competition between the bigger groups participating in monument building. This progress can be interpreted as a growing desire to represent and distinguish the group related to specific monuments, as is also shown by the spatial arrangement of grave monuments in clusters. This representation may have been closely connected to economic differences between groups concerning the investment of large amounts of resources.

With regard to the practice of feasting, the site of Büdelsdorf provides interesting evidence on this aspect. Quite clearly, both the huge enclosure and the burial grounds nearby represent special locations, which are obviously differentiated from profane areas. The cemetery of Borgstedt also contains several depositions in front of the graves and in pits around the monuments.

Probably more important is the fact that both structures provide enough space for large gatherings. Furthermore, building activities at the enclosure can be connected to a rather large number of participants due to the size of the structure and short-termed digging and refilling. Additionally, the pits containing clay and charcoal could reflect refuse fires or food disposal features, which are referred to as a common feature of feasting activites according to ethnographic cases.

Lastly, several items found at both locations might represent ritualized or prestige objects. Two fragments of ceramic spoons were found in the enclosure and on the burial grounds. Due to the restricted presence and limited number of this vessel-type, a function connected with ritualized aspects seems reasonable. Moreover, the decorated stone slabs and axes with extremely small shaft-holes could be interpreted as ritualized and/or prestige items. However, the most important characteristic of feasting locations and the practice itself is their function as an occasion for self-display. Power, relations and social positions can be negotiated in this context and in consequence also lead to a differentiation based on the abilities and influence of families or related groups.

The most important and most influential characteristic of societies with megalith building traditions is the presence of a competition both between individuals and between communities and groups. As demonstrataed in Tilleys concept, the increasing size of the monuments could be interpreted as an indication of competitive behaviour. The long barrow LA 3 in Flintbek shows a gradual extension and increasing size of single monuments. It also illustrates an ongoing reference to one monument by the group using this grave. Different monument clusters consist of chronologically differing grave types such as long barrows, small dolmen, extended dolmen and passage graves. This mixture again signalizes a continuous reference to megalithic monuments. In addition, there is an increase in tomb size from the Early to the Middle Neolithic. This is certainly influenced by the advent of collective burial rites. But it also reflects a demand for the construction of more impressive, clearly group-related chambers.

This shift in building traditions might reflect a stronger association with distinct groups, which represent themselves by expensive building activities. Consequently, growing competition between these groups and communities might be assumed. This interpretation is very similar to previous studies, which also indicate a rise in grave monument sizes (e.g. Gebauer 2014, 108–110). The significant positive correlation between the number of flint axes and megalithic tombs in various densely used areas further points to a connection between the economic activities and potential of different communities and groups and their ability to build non-megalithic and megalithic grave monuments. While these factors are clearly related to growing competition on the inter-group level, there are not too many indications, which point to intra-group competition.

CONCLUSION

With reference to the overall question of existing inequality, the presented case studies may provide some useful interpretations. An inclusion of ethnographic data on megalith-building societies can expand possible interpretations and characteristics of this distinct practice. Indications of feasting practices, possible surplus production in connection with large tombs, and growing competition between groups affiliated to grave clusters show the importance of collective actions and a growing differentiation between communities.

To go beyond this, a major issue is the definition of inequality, which is referred to. While inequality can be viewed as a clearly institutionalized differentiation between members of a group (Price/Feinman 2010, 2), an emphasis can also be placed on the question whether this state was problematic for individuals and groups (Arponen et al. 2015). The given investigation does not imply any distinct institutionalized inequality in Funnel Beaker communities.

Although more data should be taken into account, former analyses do not yet imply institutionalized differentiation between individuals (e.g. Bakker 2011). It seems more likely that single mechanisms and strategies played a major role in megalith building activities. Such mechanisms could have been the desire of descent groups to display their abilities and differences in economic wealth by providing resources for feasting activities.

Finally, the investment of surplus production in large-scale building activities, such as megalithic tombs, may be strongly influenced by economic differences and perhaps inequalities. Growing competition with an increasing emphasis on collective action and monuments can be seen on the inter-group level. This competition, in combination with the other mentioned factors, could have intensified the desire of communities to set themselves apart from each other. It is important to stress that this development does not imply the existence of inequality, since it is not visible in terms of fixed positions and hierarchies resulting from intra-group competition.

To conclude, it can be stated that the characteristics of societies with a megalith building tradition defined by Adams (2007) are detectable in the archaeological record on the basis of many aspects. The only characteristic not clearly traceable in the given case study is surplus production. Nevertheless, the existence of lineage-based structures is indicated by spatial organisation and distinct architectonic features. More aDNA-data are needed to further answer this question with the support of archaeobiological arguments. Feasting is clearly visible in the context of enclosures and megalithic tombs, where specific ritual items and facilities can be found. Most important with regard to the question of possible inequality is competitive behaviour on different scales. Competition is displayed on the inter-group level by spatial factors, the growth of chamber sizes and correlations with the number of flint axes. Therefore, an ethnographic model can be regarded as suitable for most aspects of the megalith building tradition within Funnel Beaker communities.

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WHAT HAPPENED IN IWANOWICE AT THE END OF THE 3RD MILLENNIUM BC? DID A REBELLION BREAK OUT?

ABSTRACT

At the Babia Góra settlement complex in Iwanowice, Southeastern Poland, a part of the local settlement was replaced with a cemetery and vessels ceased to be ornamented with cord impressions at ca. 2050 BC. Was the sudden change in social development caused by a rebellion? To answer this question, the author defines the notion of rebellion, drawing on various theories of conflict and the notion of ritual, a key concept in Robert Wuthnow's theory of cultural analysis. The paper also returns to the previously established sequence of events in the settlement complex and then reconstructs and describes them in terms of sociological theory.

INTRODUCTION

Archaeologists competently describe and classify material sources used in research on prehistory. However, reconstructing the temporal and spatial position of a given artefact or a given assemblage of artefacts does not really bring us closer to reconstructing the sequence of events in the past or, even less, to understanding the sequence.

Research on the Early Bronze Age settlement complex in Iwanowice in Southeastern Poland shows that even a well-executed, large-scale excavation (Dzieduszycka-Machnik/Machnik 1974) followed by multifaceted analyses of archaeological sources and the detailed reconstruction of their chronological sequence (e.g. Kadrow 1991a; 1991b; 1995; Kadrow/Machnik 1993; Kadrow/Machnik 1997; Kadrow/Machnikowie 1992; Kadrow et al. 1995) cannot guarantee that researchers will understand what happened and what mechanisms determined the events.

This contribution is an attempt to clarify a crucial moment in the sequence of previously reconstructed events: a sudden change in social development, which took place at ca. 2050 BC. A key element in clarifying that change is the use of an appropriate sociological theory. In this paper, Wuthnow's cultural analysis (Wuthnow 1987) is considered to be such a suitable proposition. From this perspective, the direct mechanism behind the change in social development seems to have been a rebellion.

REBELLION

Many dictionaries define rebellion as an open, organized and armed resistance to one's government or ruler, and also as resistance to or defiance of any authority, control or tradition. It is difficult to clearly distinguish the conceptual range of rebellion, revolt and revolution. All these concepts are characterized by the use of physical violence. This feature links rebellion, revolt and revolution with war, i.e., "a planned and organized armed dispute between political units" (Otterbein 1985, 3).

Rebellion is a sudden, local and armed conflict, more spontaneous and less organized than revolution, i.e., a radical and pervasive change in society and social structure. Rebellion is a reaction against something rather than for something. It usually does not end with the achievement of specific goals.

Because of the close relationship between rebellion, revolution and war, rebellion should be analysed within the context of the sociology of conflict and related approaches.

The beginning of conflict theory is associated with Karl Marx, while its development is attributed to Max Weber and Georg Simmel (cf. Turner 2004, 177–178). They viewed conflict as an inherent property of society and did not look for its significant sources elsewhere. According to Marx, conflict results from the unequal distribution of resources.

In Weber's view, historical development is conditioned by specific empirical factors. Conflict need not always be accompanied by violence and it is not inevitable. In societies, in which the sanctity of tradition legitimizes political action, the withdrawal of validated tradition is a fundamental prerequisite for conflict. When the elite gathers economic, social and political power in their hands, those who are removed from power are prone to become involved in conflict. Conflict may also result from gaps in social hierarchy. According to Weber, the outbreak of conflict is strongly dependent on the emergence of a charismatic leader with the ability to mobilize followers (Weber 2002, 202–205). The activity of charismatic leaders is difficult to detect in archaeological sources because this form of power was not typically supported by prestige, which was usually expressed in a material form.

Simmel insists that without conflict, society would not show any "signs of life processes". Moreover, a lack of clearly articulated interests favours the development of sharp conflict. It increases the clarity of group boundaries, centeredness of power, solidarity and cohesion within groups involved. Frequent and low-intensive conflicts contribute to the stability of social systems. These processes enhance the propensity to initiate moderate forms of conflict associated with competition, tenders and compromise (Simmel 1955).

Apart from the classics mentioned above, the theory of conflict has other eminent representatives (e.g. Ralf Dahrendorf, Lewis Coser and Randall Collins; cf. Turner 2004, 175–282). However, conflicts and rebellions cannot be detected without a theory, which effectively helps research to move from interpretations of silent archaeological sources to interpretations of sociological phenomenon. No conflict in prehistory can be "read" without a sound interpretation of the social functions of ritual and distinct cultural boundaries, i.e. the distinctness (expressiveness) of cultural divisions. Such an interpretation is possible with Wuthnow's theory of cultural analysis, which provides an extensive set of concepts, whereby ritual plays the key role (Wuthnow 1987).

RITUAL

Archaeological studies of power and authority, as well as social issues in prehistory, are usually based on analyses of burial rites (e.g. Biehl/Marciniak 2000; Chapman et al. 2006; Kadrow 2006, 138). This is because all rituals, including burial rites, provide a flow of meaning in culture, in this case through essential material things (Barański 2007, 112; Althoff 2011, 11). This is very important because archaeology, as we all know, is focused on exploring material traces of human activity in the past, mostly material things (artefacts).

Ritual is mainly associated with conventionalized religious and social cultural practices (Barański 2007, 113; Kaczmarek 2006, 122–126; Rappaport 2007, 52). It was particularly important in preliterate cultures (Assmann 2008, 34), where it was subject to historical changes and thus provides evidence for societal shifts. Moreover, changes in ritual clearly indicate significant changes in power (Althoff 2011, 183, 184). An important feature of every rite was that it was encoded by people who were not its performers (Rappaport 2007, 62–87).

These characteristics of ritual, drawn from recent studies of various scientific disciplines (cultural anthropology, history, psychology, religious studies, and sociology), show how much cognitive potential is available in the analysis of the particular context of power.

In contrast, the features of rituals highlight once again the need to carry out research from many perspectives in an interdisciplinary manner. The successful study of power and authority, based on burial rites, is clearly dependent on the theoretical perspective adopted, especially on the accepted view of culture.

The normative approach to archaeological culture proposed by Gustaf Kossinna (1911) and Gordon Childe (1929), the founding fathers of culture-historical archaeology, is derived from two assumptions. Firstly, artefacts are an expression of cultural norms; secondly, the sets of norms define precisely what culture is. This is also the way traditional archaeologists understand both archaeological culture and culture in general (Johnson 2010, 17, 18). With this perspective in mind, archaeological cultures are identified as real historical entities whose appearance, development and disappearance followed in succession according to the rules and mechanisms of history.

Emil Mühlmann wrote: "*Viele Einheiten von Naturvölkern, mit denen der Ethnologe operiert, sind einfach forschungspraktische Klassifikationen auf Grund von kulturellen oder sprachlichen Kriterien, ohne daß die darunter subsumierten Bevölkerungen ein Bewußtsein der Zusammengehörigkeit hätten*" (Editor translation: "Many groups of primitive people, investigated by ethnologists, simply represent practical research classifications on the basis of cultural or linguistic criteria in spite of the fact that the underlying subsumed population units did not have an awareness of shared identity") (Mühlmann 1954, 165).

This approach to culture should be abandoned in favour of research on units of live culture that really existed in prehistory. One such unit with undoubted real existence would have been a group inhabiting one settlement and probably one settlement microregion. A village community certainly constituted an ethnic group as well, i.e., a group aware of its cultural, political and language identity seeking to maintain and cultivate that identity. In archaeological analysis, families and village (local) groups are reflected in households and settlements or settlement microregions (Behrens 1976; Kadrow 1994).

Palaeosociological study requires appropriate models and theories of the sociocultural processes, which are not based on a metaphorical view of society as a biological organism, accepted in classical sociology, systems sociology and theories derived from them (Sztompka 2007, 19–22; Kadrow 2011). An appropriate approach should be of historical nature, cover a diachronic perspective and involve models describing culture and society in suitable terms.

Wuthnow's theory of cultural analysis seems to potentially provide the most effective tool in research on rebellion, primarily due to the key role it ascribes to ritual (Wuthnow 1987), an element which is also important in archaeology. Because of this characteristic, Wuthnow's theory helps exchange between sociological theory and archaeological research.

Since power relations had a great significance in prehistoric societies (cf. Habermas 1983, 492), it is also worth mentioning Weber's typology of authority, especially his description of charismatic authority (Weber 2002, 181–192; Kadrow 2008, 193–194).

WUTHNOW'S THEORY OF CULTURAL ANALYSIS

Wuthnow's theory of cultural analysis is considered as a part of the tradition of French structuralism. It combines the heritage of structuralism with dramaturgic analysis and an institutional approach (Turner 2004, 585–603).

Wuthnow proposed a model of cultural structure whose central point is moral order, ritual and ideology with their symbols in the institutional context. Mutual interactions and the relationship between these elements of cultural structure determine the dynamics of moral order and, simultaneously, culture itself and social structure (Turner 2004, 586–593).

The primary source of sociocultural dynamics is a gap between the programme and the actual implementation of moral order (cf. also the idea of promoted and accepted patterns of social behaviour in Ossowska 2000, 11–15). When there is uncertainty about the use of certain communication and ritual practices, social situations and social relations are ambiguous and unpredictable. Uncertainty increases the intensity of ritual practices and produces new ideologies that compete with one another. To achieve their objectives, they have to take an institutional form (Turner 2004, 591–593).

One of the most essential components of moral order is a moral code, viewed as "a set of cultural elements that define the nature of commitment to a particular course of behaviour. These elements have an identifiable symbolic structure" (Wuthnow 1987, 66). This theory of cultural analysis defines some other useful ideas. Order is described as something that makes distinctions, symbolic demarcations (boundaries), so we know the place of things and the way they relate to one another. A symbol is something that expresses those boundaries, while structure "means that some symbolic distinction can be identified" (Wuthnow 1987, 69–70). In this theory, cultural constructions are seen as codes, and not simply as subjective meanings, consisting of material symbols structured by the boundaries between moral order and the real programme. Any erosion of those boundaries causes potential crisis of moral authority and intensifies ritual practices (Wuthnow 1987, 75), leading ultimately to sociocultural change.

Rituals are a very important component of this method of cultural analysis, also because they are relatively easy to identify archaeologically. They regulate and define social relations. Rituals indicate the boundaries between social statuses (rites of passage). They also serve to remind people about the relations they share and the principles underlying those relations (ceremonies) or to send signals defining positions and relations in social activities (etiquette, protocol; Wuthnow 1987, 107).

As a symbolic and expressive aspect of behaviour that communicates social relations, often with a formal or otherwise dramatized structure, ritual effectively diagnoses crisis situations. It provides a way to deal with uncertainty (Wuthnow 1987, 109; cf. also Althoff 2011, 23).

Moments of discrepancy between moral order and the real programme are inherent in culture. They are a source of sociocultural crises, which generate intensification of ritual activities and invoke moral responsibility to act and reinforce moral order at the same time (Wuthnow 1987, 120–124). Unlike Marxists and many other researchers, Wuthnow does not accept deprivation (economic distress, alienation, anomie, anxiety, etc.) as a primary casual factor for the emergence of new ideological movements causing sociocultural changes (Wuthnow 1987, 152–154).

Moral order is also dramatized by ideology, which can be defined as a set of verbal or written utterances with the capacity for cognitive manipulation. For this reason, ideology serves as a method of defining and communicating the essence of moral obligations (Wuthnow 1987, 145).

There is usually a variety of possible ideologies, including programmes, to assume power. Ideologies arise and are distributed under relevant social movements, and they are related to the social environment. Changes in the social environment that affect moral order are linked directly to changes in ideologies. "Moral order is posited as the mediating condition between ideology and social structure" (Wuthnow 1987, 150).

There are three phases in the relationship between ideology and moral order:

1) Phase of production, marked by the emergence of new ideological movements resulting from disturbances in moral order;
2) Phase of selection, when ideologies compete to provide acceptable moral obligations; and
3) Phase of institutionalization, when the winning ideology takes a form more resistant to further competition and to alterations in the social environment (Wuthnow 1987, 151).

When ideology becomes an institution, it requires the development of a stable means of securing resources and internal structure, some degree of legitimacy and sufficient independence from other institutions to pursue its goals (Wuthnow 1987, 169).

New ideologies arise in the framework of social, religious and political movements, whereby innovative sets of symbols and rituals play an important role. Change in moral order is an easy opportunity for ideological innovations. "Any disturbance of social resources that results in uncertainties about the nature of moral obligations is likely to result in some modification at the level of ideology itself" (Wuthnow 1987, 154). Disturbances in that area provide an opportunity to introduce new symbols for an interpretation of what the moral order should consist of. The ability to use the opportunity depends on the presence of respected leaders and on their capacity to generate recruits (Wuthnow 1987, 155).

Sometimes, new uncertainties caused by disturbances in moral order are added. This may be due to the emergence of "new players", "new rules" or "new games". "Uncertainties in moral order provide possibilities for new ideologies to be produced. These possibilities are probably necessary but are undoubtedly insufficient in themselves for predicting the occurrence of specific ideological movements" (Wuthnow 1987, 158).

In the situation of cultural, political or economic diversity, multiple ideological responses are possible. Competing ideological movements usually adopt specific symbolic markers to set each movement apart from its competitors and to be easily identifiable among other movements (Wuthnow 1987, 159–160).

In conclusion, it is worth repeating that 1) the social role of ritual consists in communication; 2) rituals tend to be orchestrated according to pre-established norms; 3) rituals and ideology go together and articulate moral order; 4) ritual enacts ideas uttered verbally or in writing; 5) "rituals are generated in much the same manner as other ideological systems; both are likely to appear in situations of uncertainty in the moral order and help to clarify moral obligations constituting that order"; and 6) "uncertainty in the moral order generates oppositional ideological movements that sponsor their own rituals" (Wuthnow 1987, 170).

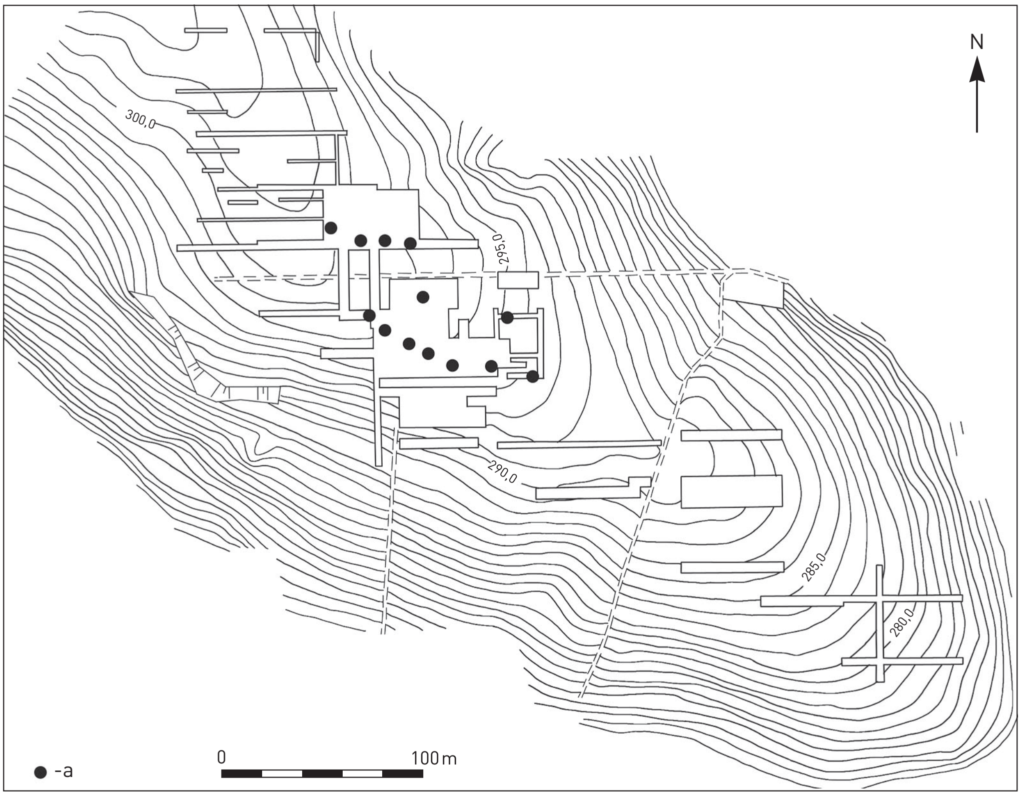
For the purposes of this paper, Wuthnow's theory may usefully be supplemented with Chalmers Johnson's cultural model of the causes of dysfunctions in society (Johnson 1982), dysfunctions resulting from a disequilibrated social value system (moral order in Wuthnow's terminology). Johnson names four main sources of dysfunction (Brzechczyn 2007):

1) Exogenous value changes, introduced from outside of the system, e.g., influence exerted by the French Revolution or the Bolshevik Revolution on other societies; Christian missions, and the activity of communist parties. These factors contribute to transformations in the value system of a given society, thereby lowering its adaptive and integration abilities.
2) Endogenous value changes, internally induced, e.g., conflict between the Church and the State in the Middle Ages, and new outlooks forming in a given society. Such factors tend to weaken the current value system.
3) Exogenous environmental changes, introduced from outside the system. These social factors, e.g., the conquest of a given society, necessitate changes in the structure of the accepted value system, whereby the lack of an appropriate value change gives rise to social crisis.
4) Endogenous environmental changes, internally induced, e.g., growing popularity of a technological innovation or new methods of production. These factors make it necessary for the current value system to adapt to changing conditions. The lack of such adaptation gives rise to social crisis.

The destabilising factors, leading to social disequilibrium, prevent the social system from fulfilling its essential functions and necessitate alterations in the accepted value system. Rebellion or revolutions break out when the level of dysfunctions exceeds the system's adaptive abilities and when the ruling elites oppose any change. In such circumstances, an alternative value system develops in society. However, the revolutionary situation still requires a complement, an "accelerator", e.g., defeat in a war, the rise of a charismatic leader or the organisation of a revolutionary party (Brzechczyn 2007, 41–44).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIOCULTURAL PROCESSES IN THE LATE 21ST CENTURY BC

Absolute chronology of the Mierzanowice settlement complex in Iwanowice is based on a series of 23 radiocarbon dates from various laboratories (Michigan, Berlin, Groningen, Gliwice: Górski/Kadrow 2001, table 3; Rome: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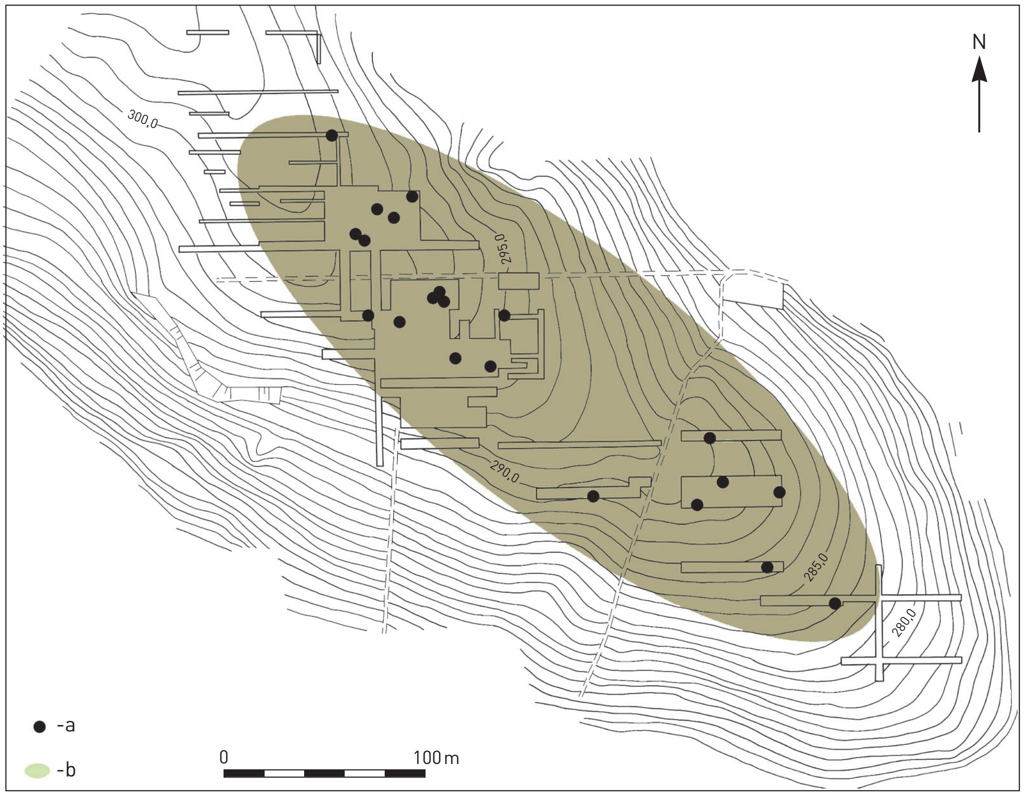
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Fig. 1. Iwanowice, Babia Góra site. Settlement of Mierzanowice culture. 1st building phase; a: trapeze-shaped pits (after Kadrow 1991a).

Fig. 2. Iwanowice, Babia Góra site. Settlement of Mierzanowice culture. 2nd building phase; a: trapeze-shaped pits, b: area of the settlement (after Kadrow 1991a).

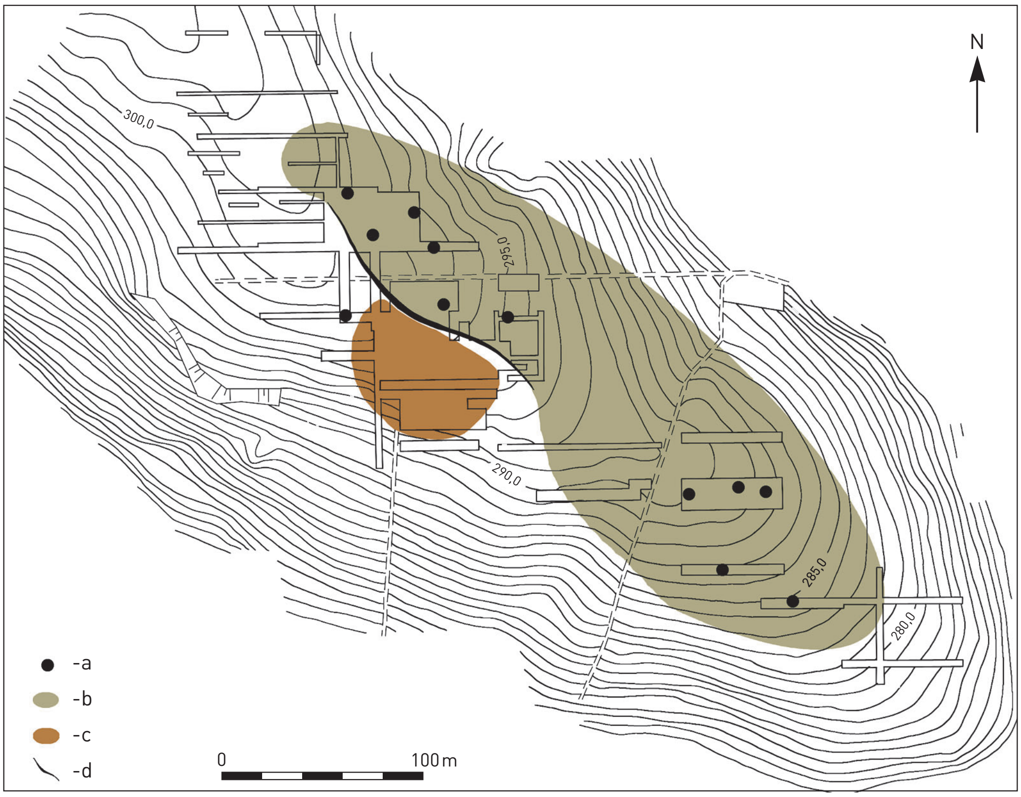

Fig. 3. Iwanowice, Babia Góra site. Cemetery and settlement of Mierzanowice culture. 3rd building phase; a: trapeze-shaped pits, b: area of settlement, c: area of cemetery, d: central ditch (after Kadrow 1991a).

Kadrow/Makowicz-Poliszot 2000, fig. 7, 12, 15). Relative chronology covers results of vertical and horizontal stratigraphy as well as the typological and stylistic analysis of ceramics (cf. Kadrow 1991b; Kadrow/Machnik 1993). Methods of spatial analysis and of reconstructing the settlement processes at Babia Góra in Iwanowice have already been presented at length in several publications (Kadrow 1991b; Kadrow/Machnik 1993; Kadrow et al. 1995).

A considerable part of the Mierzanowice cemetery at Babia Góra II in Iwanowice coincides with the area containing settlement features of the Mierzanowice culture (**Fig. 1**; Kadrow 1991a, table XL). However, chronological analysis of ceramics recovered from the fills of those features has shown that they are only related to the 1st and 2nd building phases of the settlement (**Fig. 1–3**; Kadrow 1991a, table XLII, XLIII). The coinciding areas of the Mierzanowice cemetery and the settlement in its early phase (Fig. 1–2) exclude their temporal co-occurrence. Vertical stratigraphy definitely indicates earlier dating of the settlement, e.g., graves CXXV and CXXVI were sunk into the ceilings of trapezoid pits 336 and 238 of the early Mierzanowice culture; grave LXXXVII was sunk into basin-shaped Feature 287 from the same phase.

Because of these findings, the beginning of the cemetery may be defined as later than the end of the 2nd building phase of the settlement, i.e., later than the early Mierzanowice phase in the evolution of Mierzanowice ceramics in Western Malopolska. The series of radiocarbon measurements helps to date the end of that phase to 2050 BC (Kadrow 1991a, 57–60 fig. 32; Kadrow/Machnikowie 1992, 47–48 fig. 7). This was simultaneously the beginning of the 3rd building phase of the Babia Góra II settlement in Iwanowice and the beginning of the classic (III) phase of the Mierzanowice culture.

The central ditch described as Feature 117 (cf. Fig. 3) has been dated to the same period as the beginning of the cemetery. Northeast of that feature, the settlement remained inhabited, while the cemetery was built at the other side of the ditch. There was one exception to the new layout of the area: a functional household, whose traces now form Feature 81, is located at the cemetery side of the ditch, though outside the maximum range of the cemetery (Kadrow 1991a, table XLIV). The household was only used in the 3rd building phase of the settlement; the following two periods (ca. 2000–1850 BC), the 4th and 5th building phases, have left no settlement traces at the cemetery side of the central ditch; the settlement centre moved entirely to the area northeast of the ditch or to the lower part of the site, denoted as Babia Góra I (Kadrow 1991a, table XLV–XLVI).

The reorganisation of the settlement area at the site was accompanied by distinct changes in certain elements of funeral rites in western Malopolska. Graves located at small cemeteries from the early phase usually contained one ceramic vessel, most often a mug (cf. Machnik 1978, 35–40). The cemetery at Babia Góra II, dated to the classic and the late phases (except for grave LXXXV, the only grave from the very beginning of the classic phase), had graves with no ceramic burial goods at all (Kadrow/Machnikowie 1992, 74; table XII: 1). Changes of that kind have not been recorded in other areas of the Mierzanowice culture, where burial goods continued to include vessels (Kadrow/Machnik 1997, fig. 23), sometimes even more frequently than in the early phase, e.g., at the late phase cemetery in Mierzanowice (cf. Bąbel 2013a; Bąbel 2013b).

Considerable changes have also been documented in animal burials at Babia Góra in Iwanowice at the turn of the early and the classic phases. Thirteen burials of animals, mostly cattle, deposited in settlement pits have all been dated to the classic and the late phases (Kadrow/Makowicz-Poliszot 2000, 276–278).

In other areas of the Mierzanowice culture, the ritual of animal burials was likewise most frequent in the younger phases (Kołodziej 2011, 159–173, 206–210), though it has also been recorded sporadically in the early phase, e.g., a dog's grave in Strzyżów, containing two vessels with corded ornamentation (Kołodziej 2011, fig. 19: 1, 10).

The sudden change in the layout of Babia Góra II was accompanied by serious changes in the forms of ceramics, especially in their ornamentation. Ornamentation with cord impressions was abandoned in Western Malopolska at the turn of the early and the classic phases of the Mierzanowice culture (the turn of the 2nd and 3rd building phases at Babia Góra in Iwanowice). Moreover, mugs became definitely less frequent in that period, until they vanished entirely from settlement assemblages in the 4th and 5th building phases. A similar decrease in frequency has been noted for amphorae. Pots began to dominate, becoming practically the only vessel form used by inhabitants of the Babia Góra settlement in the classic phase of the Mierzanowice culture (Kadrow 1991a, 63–65 fig. 36).

Changes in the methods of production of ceramic vessels were more gradual, though by no means slow. In the early phase, a mass of clay was tempered with a moderate admixture of red crushed stone, with granules of 3–6 mm; the thickness of vessel walls averaged 5–6 mm. In the classic phase, large amounts of thick crushed white stone were added, with granules above 6 mm; the thickness of vessel walls averaged 9–10 mm (Kadrow 1991a, 62–63 fig. 36).

At the same time, the number of inhabitants of the Babia Góra settlement in Iwanowice gradually declined, while the area of the settlement remained constant. In effect, the buildings became more dispersed as the distances between households increased (Kadrow 1991a, 79–86). The initial regular layout, lenticular in the 1st building phase (cf. Kadrow 1991a, fig. 52) evolved into an irregular arrangement resembling an amorphous cloud of households in the 3rd–5th building phases (Kadrow 1991a, fig. 53).

An analysis of the species composition of animal bones obtained at the Babia Góra site in Iwanowice and a reconstruction of the number of uncovered specimens with the MIND method have shown that fully identified chronological contexts contained the remains of 117 head of cattle (46 %), 96 goats/sheep (37.8 %) and 41 pigs (16.2 %; cf. Makowicz-Poliszot 1992, table 1). The reconstructed data indicate that the number of animals in herds varied, and the change was correlated positively with the curve of population variability at Babia Góra. Throughout the development of the settlement, each family could have in average 3 – 4 head of cattle, 1– 2 goats/sheep and 0.5 pig (cf. Kadrow 1995a, 70 –74 table 2).

Animal husbandry was related to the problem of flint material procurement. Numerous traces of the roughing out and the use of artefacts made of Jurassic flint B2 variety have been recorded directly west of the Mierzanowice settlement complex at Babia Góra; the area of their frequent occurrence stretched approx. 8 km west of the site. Surface exploitation of the poor quality raw material at such a distance may seem unusual, since flint was also available within the Babia Góra settlement itself. This can only be explained by viewing flint working as peripheral to animal husbandry in that area (Kadrow 1995b). The intensity of flint working, closely linked with demographic changes in the Iwanowice settlement microregion, was particularly high in the early phase and decreased gradually in the classic phase. It may be assumed that an inhabitant of the Babia Góra settlement required the same number of flint artefacts irrespective of the developmental phase they lived in. Because the number of inhabitants varied, flint working was also subject to change.

Analyses of charcoal samples from Babia Góra and Wysyłek Sites in Iwanowice have demonstrated the predominance of oak (*Quercus sp.*) and pine (*Pinus silvestris*). The percentages of these two species in the charcoal indicate interesting changes occurring over time. Oak dominated until the 4th building phase inclusive; in the 5th – 7th phases, pine gained definite predominance (Kadrow/Lityńska-Zając 1994, 46–48 fig. 9). While the percentage curve of oak corresponded to the population curve for the Babia Góra settlement, the percentage curve of pine ran differently. This may be accounted for by the steady decrease of the economic zone around the settlement, related to the declining number of its inhabitants. In such circumstances, pine as a pioneer species spread quickly over the previously deforested area that was no longer used economically, and it became a dominant and easily accessible element of the forest which returned to the areas bordering on the settlement at the end of the classic phase and in the late phase (Kadrow 1995a, 59 – 60 fig. 22).

SOCIOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOCIOCULTURAL PROCESS IN THE 21ST CENTURY BC

At ca. 2300 BC at the latest, the area of Babia Góra in Iwanowice was briefly penetrated by small groups of people, possibly by isolated families. At ca. 2200 BC, a slightly larger group, consisting of up to 10 families, established a permanent settlement there in a regular lenticular shape (Fig. 1). The settlement was inhabited continuously for the next 350–400 years, its size and shape varying in time (Kadrow 1991a, tables XLI–XLVI). The establishment of a large settlement is the earliest moment of profound sociocultural, demographic and economic changes that is detectable archaeologically. In the terms of traditional archaeology, it is equivalent to the Proto-Mierzanowice culture turning into the early Mierzanowice culture.

Before the settlement was established, i.e., from 2300 to 2200 BC, the dominant form of organisation over the entire area of the Mierzanowice culture, phase 1, from Northeastern Moravia through Malopolska to Western Ukraine, consisted of small mobile groups of people (families) moving on their own within large settlement regions. The groups did not establish permanent settlements; their economy was probably based on animal husbandry. The cultural specificity of those people was determined by two traditions: a local one related to the Corded Ware culture (CWC) and an external one made up of elements of the Bell Beaker culture (BB).

This cultural distinction was expressed in material symbols, which are legible in the archaeological sources uncovered at sites of that culture. The CWC tradition was related to funeral rites and vessels ornamented with cord impressions; the BB tradition involved mugs and copper daggers as determinants of the social status of a certain group of men. The moral order of the Proto-Mierzanowice community synthesized social obligations (norms) defined by ideologies of those two cultural traditions. They were dramatized in rituals, which included not only funeral rites, but also many diverse symbols, e.g., ornaments on ceramics, seldom identified archaeologically as elements of specific rites.

The moral order of the Proto-Mierzanowice community did not last long; it applied probably to no more than three generations. Dynamic internal processes of an indeterminate nature, resulting in a stabilisation of settlement, the establishment of large permanent settlements (cf. the Mierzanowice settlement at Babia Góra in Iwanowice in its 1st building phase; Fig. 1), sudden demographic development and accompanying changes in economy (animal husbandry replaced by agriculture) and society (dominant family groups replaced by local or village groups) must have been conditioned by the competition between two social movements promoting the ideologies mentioned above, together with the rituals that dramatised them.

In the following 150 years (2200–2050 BC), the social movement and its ideology – drawing increasingly on and developing the CWC tradition – gradually eliminated the BB elements. The process is noticeable in archaeological materials as a growing percentage of more and more elaborate cord ornamentation on pottery and the introduction of an original local method of producing ceramic vessels. The method consisted in adding a growing amount of crushed stone as an admixture, tempering the mass of clay.

The process described above was accompanied by growing uncertainty reflected in the intensification of ritual activities, which was expressed in the increasing frequency of cord ornaments on vessels and the growing elaboration of decorative motifs made with the technique of cord impressions (Kadrow 1991a, 62–65 fig. 36–38, table XXVI).

At ca. 2050 BC (Fig. 2–3), the gradual evolutionary changes inside the system were suddenly and dramatically stopped. Within a short time, inhabitants of the Babia Góra settlement in Iwanowice abandoned pottery ornamentation with cord impressions and radically limited the number of vessel forms they produced and used (Kadrow 1991a, table XXIX–XXXIII). Crucially, the inhabited area was thoroughly reorganised. The main part of the settlement, consisting of the upper section of the site (Babia Góra II), was divided into two segments: a settlement and a cemetery (Fig. 3). Simultaneously, changes were introduced to the old rituals, e.g., ceramics were no longer deposited in graves and farm animals, mostly cattle, were buried in settlement features (Kadrow/Makowicz-Poliszot 2001).

In archaeology, that moment of profound changes is synchronised with the turn of the early and the classic phases of the Mierzanowice culture. There are no grounds for assuming that the transformations were triggered by the arrival of a large group of a new population or by armed invaders. Archaeologically observable traits of material culture and of sociocultural behaviours, such as economy, settlement rules, flint working, methods of pottery production and the vast majority of funeral rites, were mostly characterised by immutability or mutability of a mild evolutionary kind. This corresponds to Paul van de Velde's classical model of continuity, discontinuity and pseudo-continuity (van de Velde 1979).

The changes, therefore, had the character of a local coup determined by internal processes, ideological in nature, caused by local, probably institutionalised social movements. Empirically proven effectiveness of those movements would be difficult to postulate without positing their necessary institutionalisation. The social movements recommended "a return to the roots" (renaissance) through references to various elements of BB ideology, as shown by the clear predominance of undecorated pots with knobs on their necks or rims (Kadrow 1991a, table XXIX–XXXIII). Ceramics of that type were already used at the close of the early phase (Kadrow 1991a, table XXVIII), but they had no local models. Similar forms have been noted in BB settlement complexes in vast areas of Europe, particularly in Moravia, not very far from Iwanowice (cf. vessel types no. 10, 23–25, 38 in Besse 2003, fig. 46, 105).

Many theories posit that the outbreak of conflict results from uncertainty (Wuthnow 1987) and disruption to moral order (Wuthnow 1987), also called a dysfunction of the social system (Johnson 1982). These are necessary but insufficient conditions for conflict (rebellion, revolution) to break out. Another necessary condition is the rise of a charismatic leader (Weber 2002; Johnson 1982) owing his/her power to personal charisma. A charismatic leader has no administration staff. "Prophets" are accompanied by their disciples, "military commanders" by their parties, all leaders by their backers. Problems are settled case by case, mostly through trial by ordeal or through a revelation. Every charismatic leader formulates new commandments and demands their observance, on the principle: "It was said – but I say to you" (Weber 2002, 181–192).

Charismatic leadership in its pure form is short-lived, exists only *in statu nascendi*. In more advanced societies, charismatic leaders turn quickly into traditionalistic rulers (when the society is traditional) or rationalised rulers (in contemporary societies). Egalitarianism of the Mierzanowice society precludes the assumption that charismatic leadership in Iwanowice may have been traditionalised permanently and continued over a long period. It must have ceased with the end of the rebellion resulting in the sudden coup and in the discontinuity of certain accepted traditions.

Because of their need for legitimisation and for marking themselves apart as a social movement opposed to the social order, whose symbols and rituals drew on the CWC tradition, the rebels used symbols typical of the BB tradition accepted in their community in the past. This was in keeping with the common practice of traditional communities, in which new rules of behaviour could not be created by enactment, but they became effective only when viewed as "always binding" (Weber 2002, 168–169). Precisely for that reason, to gain indispensable legitimisation for their new moral order, the social movement promoting new ideology made use of symbols and rituals rooted in the old-sanctioned BB tradition. In fact, those new/old symbols legitimised structures of the familiar early Mierzanowice social order, as indicated by the continuation of key spheres of everyday life as well as rituals regulating them within the spheres of economy, rules of settlement, flint working, funeral rites, etc.

The ideological coup in 2050 BC changed probably nothing more than power relations, promoting those members of the community, or certain families, who had previously been underprivileged in that respect. The use of selected BB symbols as elements "sanctioned by tradition" was intended to help the rebels assume and legitimise power, and not to reconstitute the temporally and spatially distant moral order accepted in BB communities in Moravia.

The profound change in the layout of the Babia Góra settlement complex in Iwanowice (Fig. 3) and the abandonment of cord ornamentation on ceramic vessels could hardly have resulted from reforms alone without physical violence. At first, the coup was probably quite a spontaneous rebellion boosted by the rise of a charismatic leader. It may have become more organised with time, while the leader may have acquired certain features of a traditionalistic ruler, as suggested by the successful invocation of the "sanctioned" BB tradition in order to assume power more securely. The effectiveness of the rebellion would have invested it with some traits of revolution, if the rebellion had caused any changes in the social structure apart from the assumption of power. The material evidence, however, excludes this possibility.

There are no grounds that link the rebellion with any human groups from outside the Iwanowice settlement complex. The steady decrease in the number of its inhabitants may mean that a part of the population left the settlement after the rebellious social movement had assumed power and promoted a new moral order. The continued high ritual activity and the introduction of its new forms, e.g., animal burials, indicates that there was a constant need to stabilise the new system of power, which lasted for a surprisingly long time, i.e., for 200 or even 250 years (from 2050 to 1850/1800 BC, which is equivalent to the classic phase of the Mierzanowice culture; cf. Kadrow 1991a, 57–60 fig. 35).

All evidence shows that the rebellion involved only inhabitants of the Babia Góra settlement in Iwanowice. Its consequences, however, such as the disappearance of cord ornamentation on ceramic vessels, had a wider impact. Apart from Western Malopolska, where Iwanowice is located, the classic phase of the Mierzanowice culture with ceramics without cord impressions has been recorded in the Sandomierz-Opatów Upland (**Fig. 4**). An enclave of a population using such vessels may also have functioned on the Upper Bug in the present-day borderland between Poland

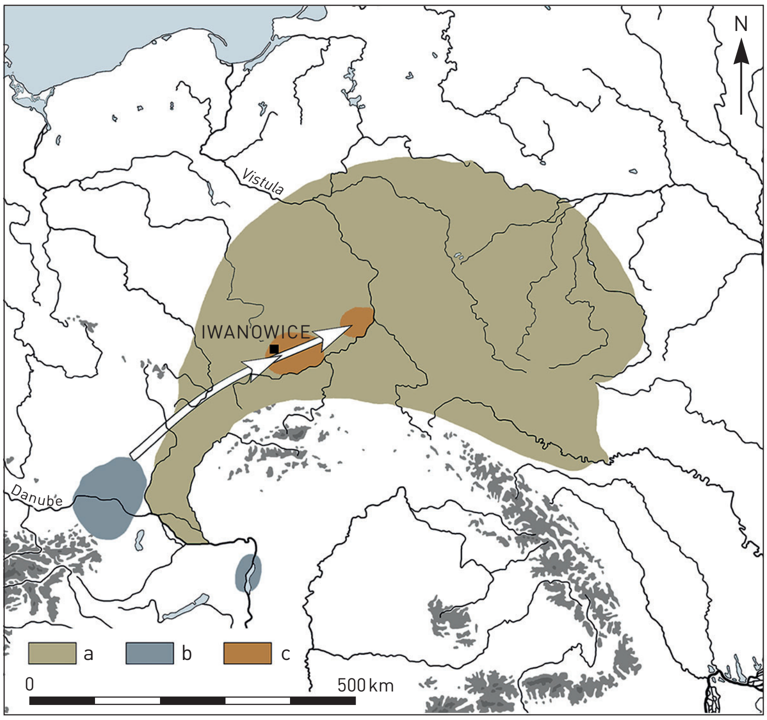

Fig. 4. The maximal territorial range of the Mierzanowice culture at the turn of the early and classic phases. a: Mierzanowice culture area in the early phase, b: areas of the latest Bell Beaker culture, c: Mierzanowice culture areas in the classic phase with pottery without cord ornamentation.

and Ukraine (Kadrow 2001, fig. 51). In those cases, however, the introduction of Mierzanowice ceramics without cord impressions was caused by so-called cultural influences rather than by an outbreak of rebellion similar to that in Iwanowice. The custom of ornamenting ceramic vessels with cord impressions continued over the other areas of the Mierzanowice culture.

CONCLUSION

The above-described reconstruction of events and an attempt to understand them in terms of unconscious processes and social structures draw on one of numerous sociological theories, specifically on Wuthnow's theory of cultural analysis. The theory seems particularly useful in archaeological research since it posits a key role of ritual in identifying the processes, which stabilise a given community. Wuthnow does not attempt to clarify the meanings of individual acts of communication carried out through rituals. From his perspective, the sociocultural context of use and the function of ritual are more important than its semantic meaning.

The isolated case of rebellion in the Iwanowice settlement complex provides yet another argument for rejecting an archaeological culture as an essential unit in analysing various processes and significant events, in favour of a microregion or settlement complex, which reflect the real historical unit of a community existing at the developmental stage preceding the formation of states.

It seems that the notion of an archaeological culture remains useful primarily as a classification unit in dealing with assemblages of archaeological material from a particular area and a particular period. In most cases, however, it does not represent any conscious or unconscious prehistoric structures. Consequently, disputes over precise definitions of this or that archaeological culture often appear to be rather futile. Many of them have more to do with a set of personal, institutional, ethnic or political factors affecting the archaeologists involved than with the prehistoric reality itself (cf., for example, Kadrow 2014).

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BRONZE AGE DEFENSIVE SETTLEMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF LONG-RANGE RELATIONSHIPS: HOW FAR IS IT FROM FORTIFIED VILLAGES TO CITADELS?

ABSTRACT

The picture of the Bronze Age envisioned in the spirit of the centre-periphery model puts the Carpathian Basin in the sphere of influences originating from Aegean-Anatolian civilizations. A critique of selected sources appears to contradict such views. The Carpathian Basin represents an area, which is clearly diversified in terms of environments, landscape and most of all culture. Therefore, it cannot be considered a space undergoing relatively fast and profound social change, which was not associated with the local tradition. On the contrary, the regional differences between defensive settlements offer evidence of a range of autonomous economic and cultural processes, which prompted their creation and functioning.

INTRODUCTION

Defensive settlements and related issues are a permanent element in debates on the Bronze Age in Central Europe. The debate itself was largely shaped in the 1950s and the 1960s. Those decades witnessed some major developments such as the discovery of the Otomani-Füzesabony (herein abbreviated as OF) fortified settlements on the territory of former Czechoslovakia. From the very first publication (Kabát 1955a; 1955b; Vladár 1972; 1973), some of these, particularly Spišsky Štvrtok and Košice-Barca, were quoted as weighty arguments in favour of cultural influence originating from geographically remote areas. The provenance of these impulses tended to be determined in very general terms as "the Aegean", "the eastern Mediterranean" and the Mycenaean culture. A number of researchers argued that the specific elements of the material culture and traits of the OF defensive settlements stemmed directly from the southern parts of Europe (Vladár 1973; 1974; Vladár/Bartoněk 1977). With time, this notion of defensive settlement, i.e. construed as a remote reflection of urbanization processes in the Aegean, became predominant, paradoxically causing the quality of research in that field to decrease. Among the broad assortment of publications commenting on the discoveries in the above settlements and other OF sites, as well as in other regions of the Carpathian Basin, only few relied on critical source analysis and new research (Jaeger 2016, 17–21). The established hypotheses were tenaciously iterated, based on similar or even the very same sets of archaeological sources. The indeterminate "Aegean area" was juxtaposed with the equally generally understood "Carpathian Basin". The current debate on the European Bronze Age continues to be affected by the aforesaid shortcomings.

For a long time, studies into long-range contacts between the northern and the southern reaches of the continent largely consisted in looking for and describing artefacts purported to have originated elsewhere than the location of their discovery. Numerous distribution maps (e.g. Schauer 1984; 1985) show a collection of objects, which are supposed to document the scale of exchange between individual regions of Europe. In recent years, mostly due to the work of Kristian Kristiansen, this approach has been enhanced with the specific interpretive model called *warriors on the move* (Kristiansen 2004; Kristiansen/Larsson 2005; 2007). According to Kristiansen, the dissemination of artefacts was a material manifestation of the spread of social institutions and even abstract religious ideas and notions of the world (Kristiansen 2011). The dense network of exchange and trade spanning Bronze Age Europe (reaching even beyond the continent), which the author reconstructed, was to prompt the emergence of a particular model of society in which the leading role belonged to a belligerent aristocracy (Kristiansen 1999). Its representatives both organised and benefited from the long-range contacts, while in fact being its most consummate "product". The warriors differed from other social segments in their lifestyle and customs (e.g. feasting, Kristiansen/Larsson 2005, 167), as well as in their appearance (Treherne 1995). Their belligerence, understood and described not only as a phenomenon of military nature, but most of all as a sociological/social trait (Kristiansen 1999, 181), is argued to have soon emerged as a shared element encountered in the Mycenaean culture, in the Carpathian Basin and in the Nordic area (Kristiansen/Larsson 2007; Vandkilde 2014). The phenomenon of the elite, aristocratic warrior was to have originated with "(…) empires and palace cultures of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (…)" (Kristiansen 1999, 177). His emergence, according to Kristiansen, had in fact a substantial impact on all aspects of life in the Bronze Age, becoming a characteristic of the new era (Kristiansen/Earle 2015, with further literature), an era altogether different from the Neolithic which preceded it (cf. critical remarks in Kienlin 2012; 2015, 7–70).

The text presented here is a polemic voice in the debate in which the Carpathian Basin and its defensive settlement-building communities are purported to be a singular northern branch of the Mycenaean culture and, more broadly, an arena of considerable cultural influence of the urbanized areas in the eastern Mediterranean. Naturally, given current knowledge it would be groundless to question the existence of relationships connecting the northern and the southernmost parts of the continent. In this study, the author seeks to assess the cultural upshot of the contacts, by reanalysing information concerning selected OF defensive settlements which are most often cited in the debate.

FROM THE BALTIC SEA TO THE AEGEAN

As remarked in the introduction, the debate about the long-range relationships between remote parts of Europe in the Bronze Age has its own dynamics, while its roots go back to the concept of *ex oriente lux*, coined by V. G. Childe (1958; 1963). As regards studies of the Bronze Age defensive settlement, one can distinguish their major stages and findings, which nonetheless are subject to continual development:

- Research at the OF settlements in what is present-day Slovakia, carried out in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s → emergence of the notion that defensive settlements had clearly been influenced by and followed Aegean models (in particular citadels/palaces of the Mycenaean culture) (Vladár/Bartoněk 1977, with further literature);
- Application of the world-system model (centre – periphery) in European archaeology in the 1980s and 1990s (Harding 2013, with further literature) → establishment of the view presupposing increased dynamics of long-range relations between the urbanized centres of culture in the Near East and the Aegean, and Central Europe; determination of the role of defensive settlements, which constituted major points on the reconstructed exchange routes (e.g. Sherratt 1987; 1993);
- Expansion of the world-system model to include the marginal zone in the 1990s → introduction of the notion that secondary centres could have emerged with their own peripheries, as well as inclusion of hitherto disregarded areas (marginal zones) into the description and conceptual framework of cultural processes within the world-system model (Kristiansen 1987; Sherratt 1993; Shennan 1993; Vandkilde 1996; Kadrow 2007);
- Compilation of previous findings and reformulation of Childe's concept of *ex oriente lux* in the late 1990s and the two past decades (a number of works (co-)authored by Kristian Kristiansen; e.g. Kristiansen 1999; 2004; Kristiansen/Larsson 2005;

2007; Kristiansen/ Earle 2015) → introduction of the concept of a new social institution, the aristocratic warrior, accompanied by the assertion of his key role in initiating or enhancing major cultural processes and phenomena of the Bronze Age: exchange, trade, social stratification, relationships with underlying armed conflict, as well as writing, religion, art and architecture (or more broadly, a particular sense of the aesthetic qualities).

Each of the above stages of studies relating to long-range contacts between the Baltic and the Aegean emphasized the importance of cultural processes documented in the Carpathian Basin. With respect to the defensive settlement in this region, it has to be underlined that for a long time the probative value of sources from OF sites was very seldom questioned, and the views advanced in the early stages of research tended to be consistently reiterated. In contrast, Kristiansen's works display a tendency to present a wider spectrum of sources, as the researcher includes and considers the information from studies of the Danube Vatya culture and other areas of Southeastern Europe (Kristiansen/Larsson 2005, 162; Earle/ Kristiansen 2010). The idea behind that method was to create an impression of a "global" nature of the phenomena advanced by the author, i.e. one that spanned the entire area of the Carpathian Basin. However, the approach resulted from the analysis that was focused on similarities without a more profound reflection on the much more significant differences between individual sites and cultural-geographic regions. On the one hand, Kristian Kristiansen did note the mosaic-like aspect of Bronze Age culture in the Carpathian Basin, but, on the other hand, the author deliberately refrained from delving into the contextual subtleties and nuances of the overall picture, for instance, by designating all styles of pottery encountered in that part of Europe as "Otomani culture" (Kristiansen/Larsson 2005, 125).

At present, despite the asserted increase in the number of finds which corroborate the relationships between the coasts of the Baltic Sea and the Aegean (Harding 2007), most of them can only be defined as exotic items, i.e. single artefacts which do not necessarily attest to direct and significant cultural relations maintained between the "giver" and the "recipient". Their distribution testifies exclusively to the social capabilities of prehistoric people, documented already in the Neolithic, to transfer specific objects/raw material over very large distances (e.g. Petrequin et al. 2015).

The list of credible and important materials and products from Central Europe, which reached the area of the Mycenaean culture, should be limited to a mere few, in particular amber from the Baltic Sea, a specific range of bone/antler objects, and wheel-headed pins[1].

The presence of succinite in continental Greece and its high cultural value in the Mycenaean society are well documented and described (Harding/Hughes-Brock 1974; Czebreszuk 2011; Maran 2013). Despite certain unresolved (unresolvable?) issues relating to chronology and methods of amber exchange over such a distance, including the precise course of the so-called amber routes, succinite was no doubt a sought-after material, well-known in Bronze Age Greece already from the Early Mycenaean period onwards, as attested by the most significant finds from shaft graves (Czebreszuk 2011).

The numerous collection of objects made from bone/antlers should be approached in similar fashion. Many of the latter can be associated with the innovation in the form of the chariot. Their detailed stylistic analysis (David 2001; 2002; 2007) demonstrates a range of formal (ornamentation known as *karpatenländisch-ostmediterrane Wellenbandornamentik*) and chronological coincidences between finds from the areas on the Danube, northern Pontus, the Aegean, and Anatolia (David 2007). Just as the amber from the north, cheek-pieces are known to have been present in the Shaft Grave period (Harding 2005).

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[1] Only finds demonstrating relationships with Central Europe are quoted here. Other artefacts, which attest to long-range relations with the broadly understood "north", also include crescent-shaped necklaces of the Wessex culture (Maran 2004), as well as an extensive selection of sources from the central Mediterranean (Vianello 2005).

Wheel-headed pins are another group of objects, which attest to the relationships between the Mycenaean culture of the Shaft Grave period and Central Europe. Ornaments of this kind, discovered at a number of major sites in Greece, have their prototypes in Central European pins (Ruppenstein 2010).

Given the current knowledge on the distribution of the above finds, the existence of relationships between the Mycenaean ecumene and certain regions in Central Europe appears to be validated by the sources. However, the one-sided approach to available sources and the equally biased assessment of the roles of the areas between which the aforementioned objects and materials were circulated does give rise to doubt (cf. remarks in Maran/Van de Moortel 2014, 545).

The widely adopted paradigm, which functions in the studies of long-distance relationships in the Bronze Age, presupposes that the urbanized world of the Mediterranean was superior to anything that emerged in Central Europe. This notion is reflected in the contemporary understanding of the word “civilization”, denoting “living in cities” (Standage 2005, 25), which involves the existence of established structures of law, a political system with its ruling class, bureaucratic mechanisms and a level of technological development. The contrast between the “civilised world” of the south and the “barbarian” north has become a permanent trait of stereotypical and mundane notions of the history of our continent and represents an element of the intellectual heritage of antiquity. Once Greek had been identified as the language of tablets with inscriptions in Linear B, this perception of Europe began to apply to the Bronze Age as well. Consequently, no symmetry or balance is to be found in the debate concerning the contact between Mycenaean culture and Central Europe. One could say that the roles of “giver” and “recipient” ascribed to individual communities of the Bronze Age, depicting the direction of cultural and, in a broader sense, civilizational impulses, have been assigned in accordance with the Western intellectual tradition. This approach to prehistoric contacts is an error of retrograde update, as various cultures determined to have existed across Europe at the turn of the second half of second millennium BC are assessed according to the categories developed for early historic and historic times. Moreover, this approach seems to forgo any reflection on the significance of the northern provenance of the aforementioned objects and materials. In the world-system model, the role of the areas of Central Europe is reduced to being an exploited source of raw material, which acquired cultural value only in the hands of the conscious and dominant communities of the central regions. The example of amber seems to be particularly meaningful in that respect, as its cultural valuation had a long tradition in the northern parts of Central Europe, dating back to the Neolithic (Czebreszuk 2003). Only an extremely reductionist approach permits the assumption that the material reached the area of the Mycenaean ecumene without any locally developed cultural associations whatsoever. It is more likely that amber, as a “northern” product, was also a vessel of particular concepts (Czebreszuk 2011, 28, 164–172), which could have been augmented or enriched while the material was adapted to the cultural context at its destination (Maran 2013). Rejecting such a possibility again echoes antiquity’s characteristic division of the world into “civilised” and “barbarian” areas, reflected for instance in the following words of Tacitus’: “(…) they (Æstii – M. J.) also search the deep, and are the only people who gather amber (which they call ‘glesum’), in the shallows, and also on the shore itself. Barbarians as they are they have not investigated or discovered what natural cause or process produces it. Nay, it even lay amid the sea’s other refuse, till our luxury gave it a name. To them it is utterly useless; they gather it in its raw state, bring it to us in shapeless lumps, and marvel at the price which they receive” (Tacitus 1914, 43–44, Germania). In fact, much of the Bronze Age amber discovered in a variety of contexts in Central Europe demonstrates well-developed and firmly established local usage and valuation patterns, which differ from region to region (Stahl 2006; Czebreszuk 2011; Erneé 2012).

DEFENSIVE SETTLEMENT IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN IN THE CONTEXT OF LONG-RANGE RELATIONSHIPS

In the first half of the second millennium BC, the Carpathian Basin witnessed an intense development of defensive settlements (Jaeger 2016). The phenomenon is perhaps most fully illustrated in the Danube region and the Tisza region, with their dominant styles of Vatya, Hatvan and Otomani-Füzesabony pottery (Fischl 2012; Reményi 2012; Szeverényi/Kulcsár 2012; Jaeger/Olexa 2014, 163–164 fig. 1; Jaeger 2016).

In the debate of long-distance contacts, defensive settlements are most often attributed the very general role of "emporiums". The stable nature of most of these, resulting from several centuries of preceding settlement, indeed warrants their potential function to be determined as inland "ports of trade" (*sensu* Polányi 1963). However, it would be difficult to assume that a majority, even less all of them, could have played a key or in fact any other role in building relationships with the Aegean or specifically with the early Mycenaean culture. Due to the incomplete archaeological exploration of most defensive settlement in the Carpathian Basin (Jaeger 2012, 149–150; Jaeger 2016, 17–20), the potential social and economic roles on micro (intra-regional) and macro (interregional) scales are jointly attributed and remain undifferentiated in the generalised debate. In other words, the very existence of a defensive settlement by default entails the assumption that it participated in a broader, i.e., supralocal system of cultural and economic exchange. When the world-system model, including the marginal zones, is applied, one easily obtains a picture with a multiplicity of reciprocal relations. This facilitates the development of large-scale narratives in which individual regions, where defensive settlements are found, become *en bloc* an arena of long-ranging influences and play an active role in building relationships of that kind.

One such cultural-geographic region of Central Europe, which tends to be universally cited as an active partner in long-distance exchange, is the area of today's Eastern Slovakia. In the second millennium BC, the dominant culture of the region was OF culture, which constituted a part of a larger cultural phenomenon whose extent covered the territories of several contemporary countries (Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania; Bader 1998; Gancarski 2002).

In Slovakia itself, it is now possible to distinguish three key areas of OF settlement: the Eastern Slovak Lowland, the Spiš area, and the Košice Basin (Gašaj 2002a, 16–18) (**Fig. 1**). The sites are concentrated in the basin of the Upper Tisza, on the Hornád, Torysa and Latorica. Defensive settlements are the best explored of all discovered sites. In the Košice Basin, one finds Nižna Myšľa with two fortified settlements from two different periods and an extensive burial ground. In the nearest vicinity, just several kilometres away, two other important sites are located: Košice-Barca and Rozhanovce, as well as numerous cemeteries, e.g., Čaňa, Seňa, Valaliký and the open settlement of Veľká Ida. In the mountainous Spiš, OF settlement resulted from a broader process of the culture's expansion, in which it also extended as far as the Low Beskids in Poland (Gancarski 2002; Jaeger 2010; Przybyła et al. 2012). The best-known site of the Spiš OF ecumene is the settlement in Spišský Štvrtok. Apart from the two systematically and thoroughly explored cemeteries (Seňa, Nižna Myšľa; Horváthová 2011; Olexa/Nováček 2013), defensive settlements constitute the basic source of information about the OF ecumene in Slovakia. Despite the long history of research and long-lasting excavation campaigns at individual sites (Jaeger 2016, 14–15), an extensive monographic study discussing any of those has not yet materialized. The debate on the long-range contacts most often refers to the examples of Košice-Barca and Spišský Štvrtok, though similarly, neither have been the focus of a comprehensive study, but are rather known from relatively short, often aspectual papers which largely contain the same information (Kabát 1955a; 1955b; Vladár 1973; 1975; 2012). In both cases, the available texts offer no precise stratigraphic information, absolute age dating or full chronology of basic archaeological sources. In the case of Košice-Barca, due to only partial preservation of documentation from excavations, the determina-

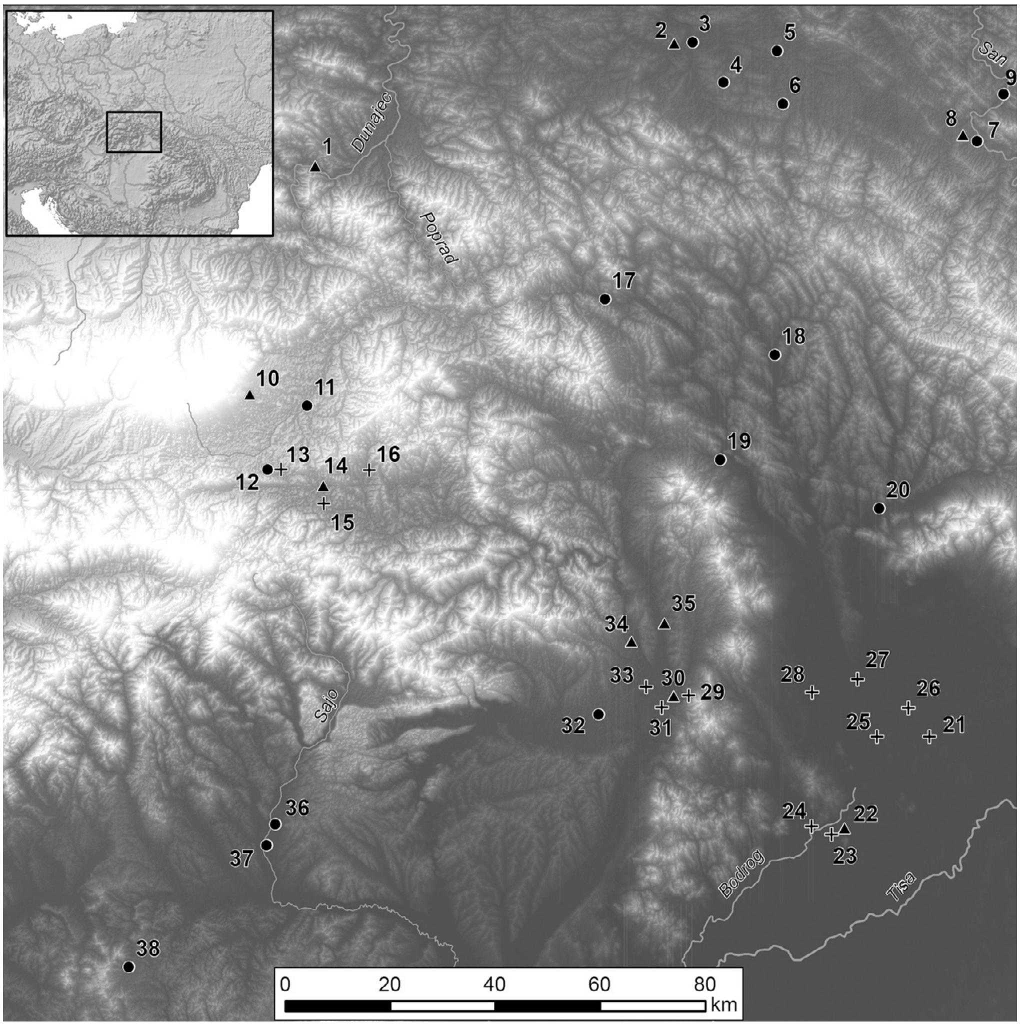

Fig. 1. Main sites of Otomani-Füzesabony culture in Slovakia and Poland; circles – settlements; crosses – cemeteries; triangles – fortified settlements: 1:Maszkowice, 2: Trzcinica, 3: Jasło, 4: Łajsce, 5: Potok, 6: Wietrzno-Bóbrka, 7: Sanok, 8: Trepcza, 9: Hłomcza, 10: Lomnica, 11: Kežmarok, 12: Gánovce, 13: Švábovce, 14: Spišský Štvrtok, 15: Spišské Tomášovce, 16: Levoča, 17: Mokroluh, 18: Stropkov, 19: Hanušovce nad Topľou, 20: Humenné, 21: Čičarovce, 22: Streda nad Bodrogom, 23: Streda nad Bodrogom, 24: Borša, 25: Oborin, 26: Drahňov, 27: Bracovce, 28: Trebišov, 29: Nižná Myšľa, 30: Nižná Myšľa, 31: Čaňa, 32: Veľká Ida, 33: Valaliky, 34: Košice, 35: Rozhanovce, 36: Tornaľa, 37: Včelince, 38: Stará Bašta. Basemap of Aster Dem Grid (ASTER GDEM is a product of METI and NASA).

tion of the timeframe for settlement stages is markedly hypothetical (Šteiner 2009). Thus far, pottery from Spišský Štvrtok has not been described and discussed at all. The lack of stratigraphic data and the shortage of published documentation (photographs, drawings) severely reduce the possibilities of verifying hypotheses advanced by the authors (Jaeger 2014, 293, 301). General structural layouts of both sites were presented quite early, based on the partial survey by excavation. Those very layouts contained reconstructed elements, which were deemed reflections of the traits of Aegean architecture and construction techniques.

SPIŠSKÝ ŠTVRTOK

The notions concerning this settlement were formed on the basis of the 1975 text by Jozef Vladár, which was subsequently reprinted on numerous occasions and remains the most often quoted written source. The publication was in fact a kind of brief guide intended for the participants of an archaeological symposium in Bratislava. Although it lacked many elements of a fully-fledged scientific study, it drew a wide response from Bronze Age researchers. The reconstructed layout of the settlement (or more precisely its fortifications (**Fig. 2**) delineated their placement and described their form (explored by excavations only to a limited extent; Vladár/Oravkinová 2015, 435 fig. 3), which were interpreted to have been substantially influenced by the patterns encountered in the Mediterranean *(*Vladár 1973; 1974*)*.

The distinctive feature of the defences was that they had been built of stone. Unlike the known examples of OF settlements in Slovakia, the characteristic broken slabs were employed in Spišský Štvrtok to construct the core elements of the fortifications (Vladár 1973, 281–282 fig. 27–28; 1974, 227–228 fig. 9–10; Jaeger 2014, 296). They measured 160 m in length and exhibited a very complex form (Vladár 1973, 286; 1975, 22 fig. 2) (Fig. 2). The western part, due to the particular terrain, was protected only by a palisade on a stone base (Vladár 1970, 38). To the north and south, the palisade joined a uniquely structured wall, consisting of two stone walls, whose estimated width was 4.5 m at the base and 4 m at the crown. The author made a hypothetical assumption that the wall was topped with a stockade, which elevated its height to 6 m (Vladár 1973, 284, 286; 1975, 23 fig. 3). In the eastern part of the settlement, the main wall was fronted by another 120-metre-long stone wall. There was an empty space of approximately 80 cm between the latter and the face of the main wall, which became wider in the sections adjoining the bastions protecting the entrance to the settlement. These bastions were the most spectacular element of the discovered fortifications: circular, made of stone[2], measuring approx. 5.9 m in diameter (Vladár 1973, 284–285 fig. 31). Additionally, the eastern part of the settlement was protected by a ditch, 6 m wide and 2 m deep (Vladár 1973, 286).

Over the decades that have passed since the publication, no attempt has been made to revise and verify the site's layout and the hypotheses advanced by the author. In addition, the form of the defences has been uncritically presented in recent years in a text suggesting the existence of an "urbanistic" order and advanced architecture in the Carpathian Basin modelled after Aegean/Mycenaean patterns (Vandkilde 2004, 32; Kristiansen/Larsson 2005, 162; Gogâltan 2008, 49 fig. 8.1). Characteristically enough, in the course of the long debate and the exploitation of the example of Spišský Štvrtok, no references were made to sources from Greece in order to demonstrate potential prototypes of particular architectural solutions. Authors confined themselves to general remarks indicating a similarity between OF defensive settlements and Mycenaean citadels, implying both formal and functional correspondences. However, in view of chronology as well as functional and formal features, the settlement in Spišský Štvrtok and other OF sites should be compared (if at all) to early Mycenaean fortified settlements (*frühmykenische Burgen*, Lauter 1996). These, in turn, display no significant similarities with the Central European Bronze Age settlements, Carpathian settlements included (for further arguments see Jaeger 2014). The presence and the form of stone bastions in Spišský Štvrtok, the material used for the fortifications (sandstone slabs) as well as the ditch suggest rather an erroneous assessment of the chronology of those features. It seems probable that they date from the La Tène period and are associated with the later stage of the settlement of the Púchov culture, whose traces had been identified at the site already in the initial stage of research (Novotny/Kovalčík 1967,

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[2] The height of the stone walls of the bastions cannot be determined. Given the relatively small width of the base, as illustrated in the published photographs, as well as the lack of mortar, it is likely that the structures were largely made of timber. If only stone had been used, it is doubtful that they would have had the capacity to reach the estimated 4–6 m height of the wall.

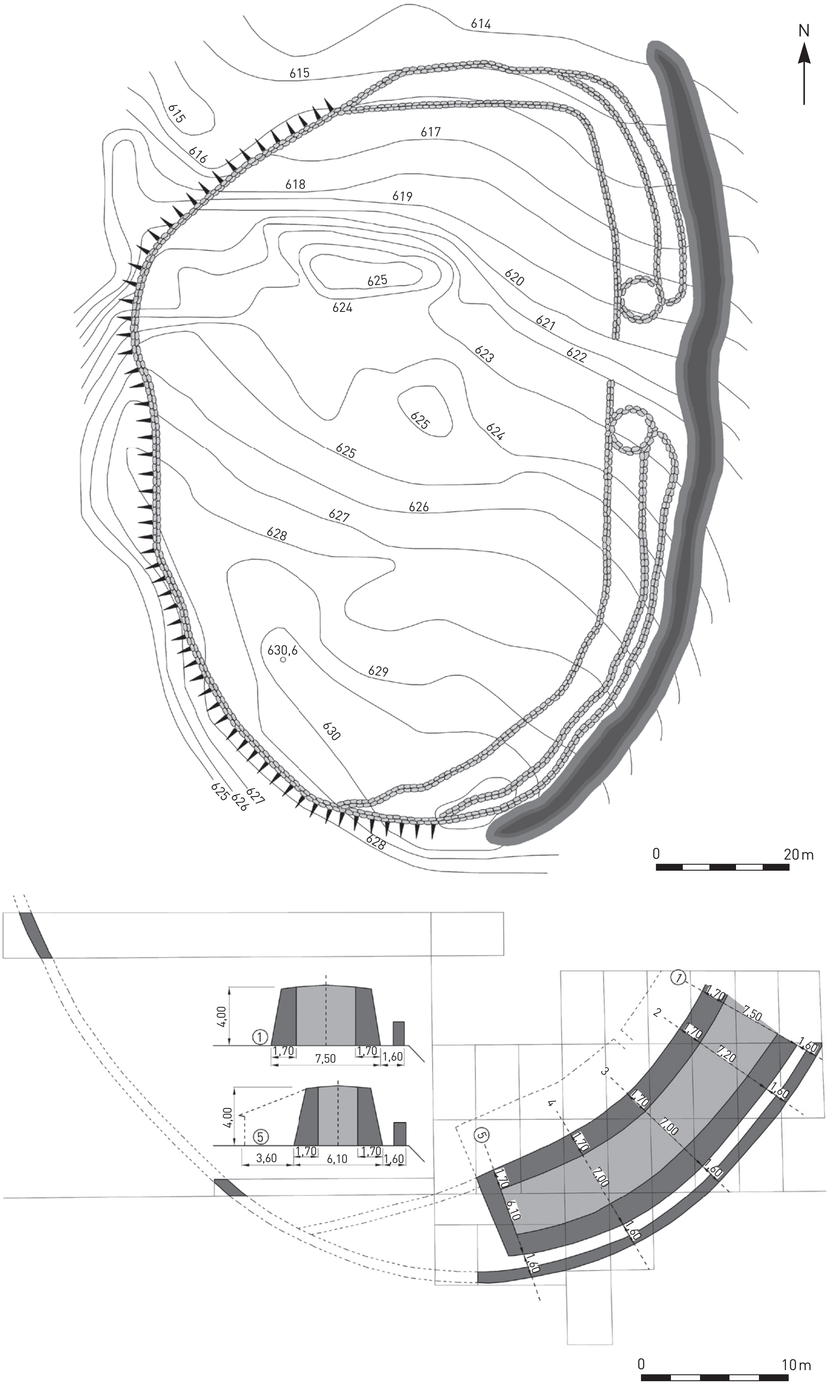
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Fig. 2. Spišsky Štvrtok. Reconstructed course and schematic cross-sections of fortifications (after Vladár 1975).

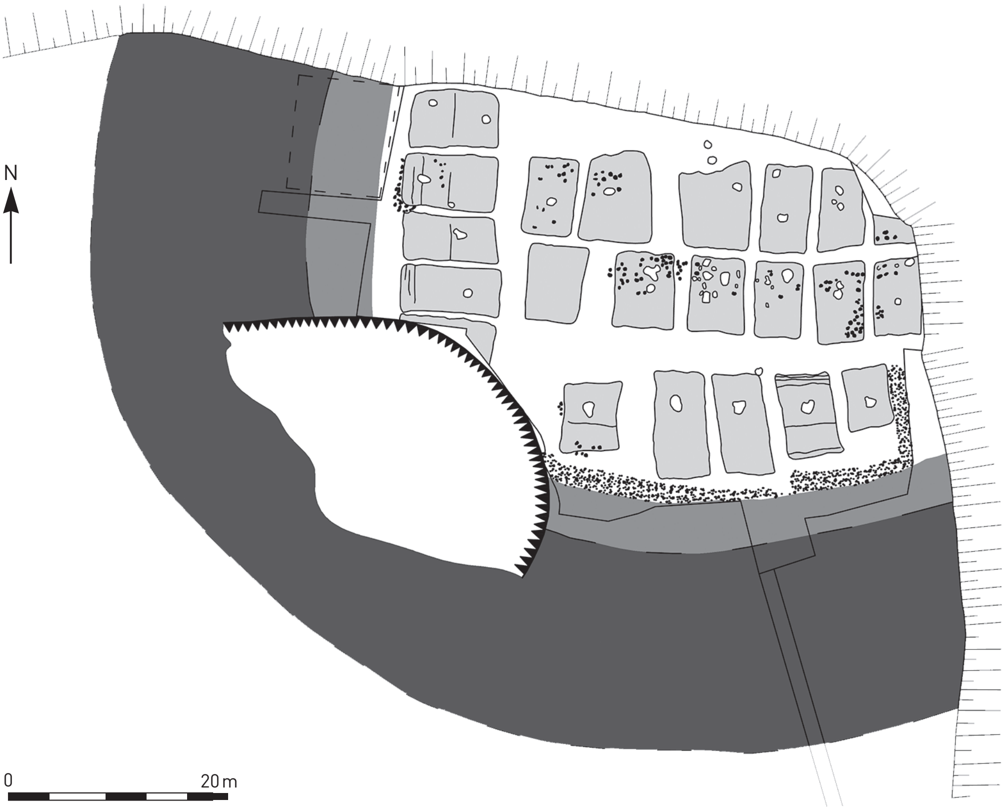

Fig. 3. Košice-Barca. A “classic” plan of the settlement with reconstruction of the regular inner layout (after Gašaj 2002b).

25, 27, 45; Vladár 1970, 41; 1976, 220; Jaeger 2014, 299–301)[3].

KOŠICE-BARCA

In the case of the Košice-Barca settlement, the principal argument in favour of Aegean inspiration was the regular layout of the huts and the presence of stone-reinforced streets (**Fig. 3**). The latter are known from several OF sites in Slovakia (Nižná Myšľa, Olexa 1983, 122; Spišský Štvrtok, Jockenhövel 1990, 216 fig. 4)) and are associated with instances of regular structural development reconstructed on the basis of partial excavation surveys, which was somewhat exaggeratedly called an *urbanistic plan*. The debate on the singular proto-urban elements detected in the layouts of these sites was prompted by the discoveries at the Košice-Barca settlement. In one of the early reports from Košice-Barca, the authors published a plan of the first settlement, showing 23 huts in a dense, multiple row arrangement (Kabát 1955a, 595 fig. 259) (Fig. 3). Three rows (19 huts) were built along the north-south axis, while the fourth row (4 huts) was oriented along the east-west axis. The buildings differed in size and internal division. The basic types included huts with one chamber (and one fireplace), two chambers (and one fireplace) or three chambers (and one or two

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[3] The most recent analysis of sources from other OF settlements in Slovakia suggests a greater number of cases where the locations of Bronze Age and Púchov culture settlements overlapped (information received from K. P. Fischl, for which I am grateful).

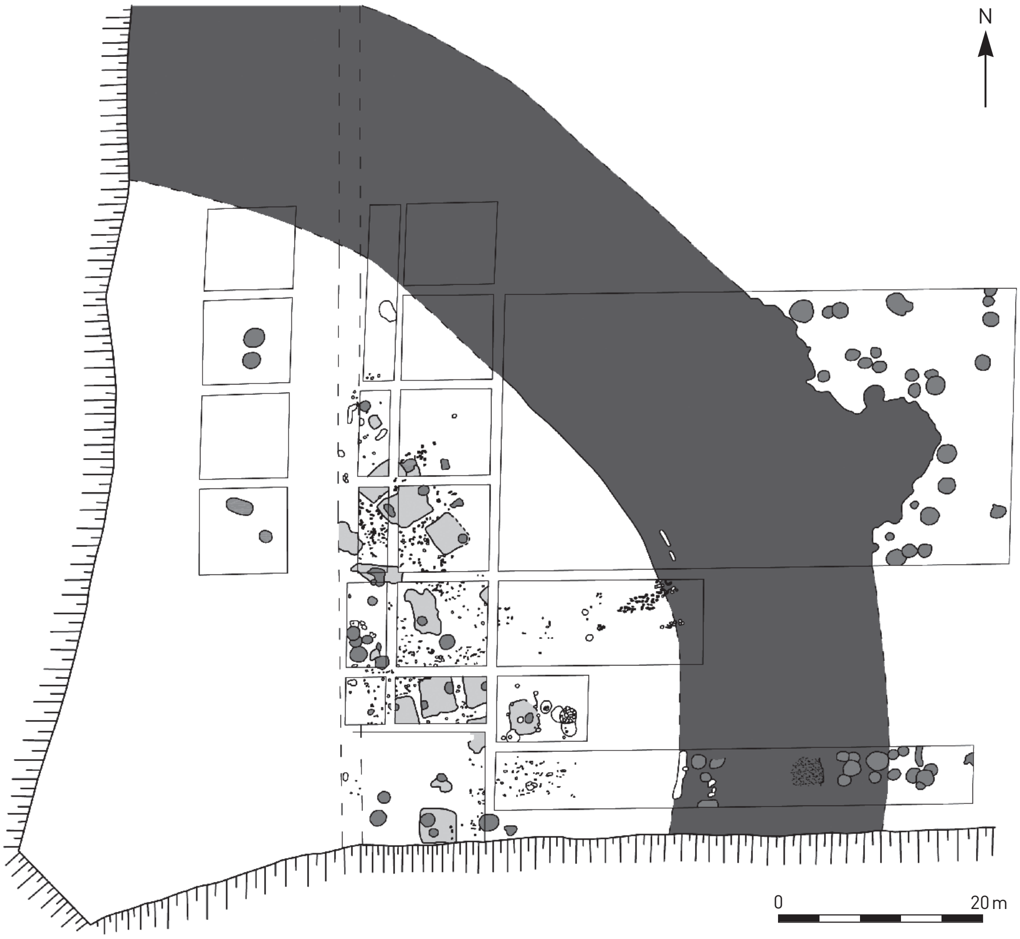

Fig. 4. Nižna Myšľa. Plan of the older settlement with excavated elements of the inner layout, fortifications and location of trenches (after Gašaj 2002b).

fireplaces) (Kabát 1955a, 596–597). Postholes discovered in the interiors of the huts are most likely remnants of the internal furnishings (Vladár 1973, 290). The year 1994 saw the publication of a doyen of Slovakian archaeology, Anton Točik. Relying on the preserved documentation from the excavations conducted by Ladislav Hájek and Jozef Kabát, as well as on available publications, Točik attempted to reinterpret the layout of the extension and chronologies of the earlier and the later settlement in Košice-Barca (Točik 1994; David 1998, 245–247). The verification set out from an examination of the aforementioned streets determined at the site. Točik noted that only some buildings complied with the course of the road, which ran along the fortifications (Točik 1994, 63). This observation led to a hypothesis that the layout of the settlement presented in the previous years is in fact a combination of two stages of development dating from different periods. The actual schema of the settlement's expansion would thus have been as follows: in the earlier stage, the buildings were aligned to the functioning thoroughfare along the wall, stretching to the north and south. The southernmost and northernmost rows consisted of dwellings with two chambers, while the huts in the middle had only one chamber. In the later phase, the road along the wall is likely to have ceased to be used, and the huts with three chambers were built: the first group in the southern section of the settlement (5 huts oriented towards north-south) and the second group in the northwestern part of the settlement (4 huts aligned along the east-west axis) (Točik 1994, 63). These findings were associated with horizon/layer 2, which had been revealed at the site (Kabát 1955a, 597 fig. 260). As regards the later settlement (hori-

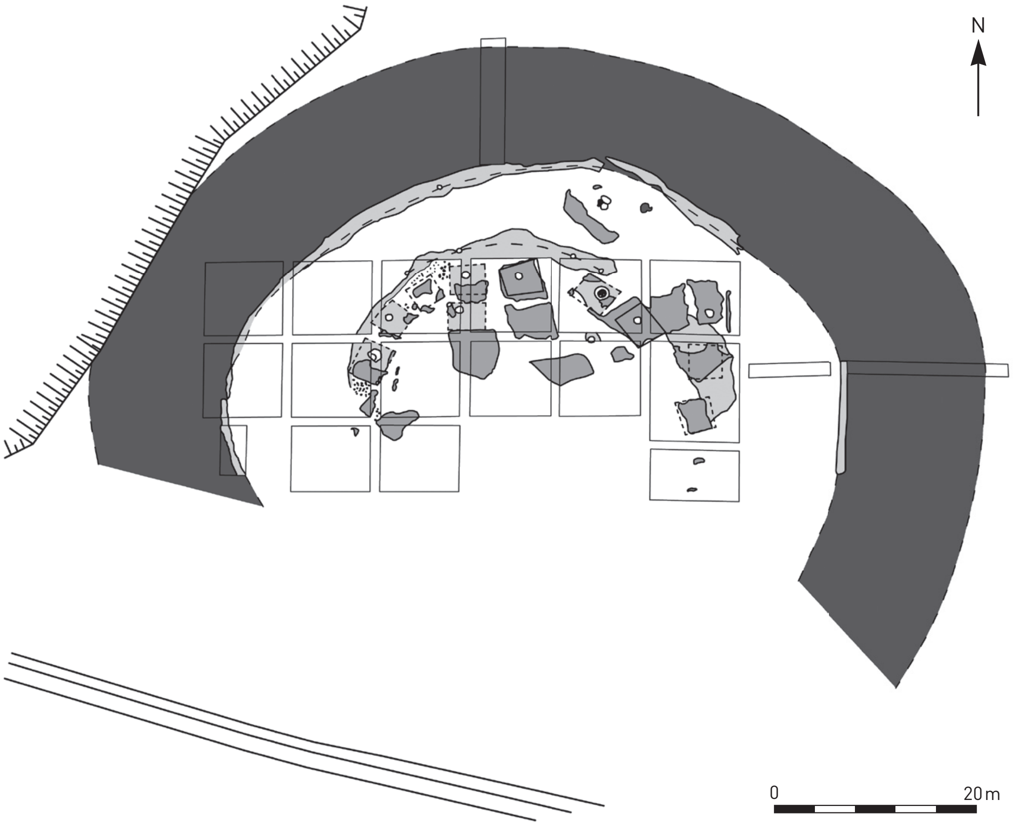

Fig. 5. Rozhanovce. Plan of the settlement with excavated elements of the inner layout, fortifications and the location of trenches (after Gašaj 2002b).

zon 1), remnants, such as clay floors, hearths, etc., could not be detected despite a greater thickness of strata. The only traces of dwellings were probable post-holes, 80 cm to 100 cm deep and ranging from 25 cm to 30 cm in diameter. According to Točik, they represented the remains of substantial buildings that had at least one storey and a rectangular layout (Točik 1994, 61). Točik's findings are important inasmuch as they constitute one of the few critical statements in the debate relating to the presence of *Aegean* elements, which purportedly had been the source of architectural solutions in the Carpathian Basin (Točik 1994, 61).

The regular layout of residential structures in OF settlements provided a material argument for the researchers who sought links between *defensive constructions* in the Carpathian Basin with the *architecture* of the Mycenaean culture (Vladár 1973, 283–294). However, it should be emphasized that all the aforementioned settlements, in which prior existence of row-pattern/street-pattern development is suspected, are relatively small sites. The dimensions of the earlier settlement in Nižna Myšľa did not exceed 50 x 60 m (Gašaj 2002b, 27) (**Fig. 4**); Košice-Barca measured 50 x 45–50 m (Točik 1994, 63), while the acreage of Rozhanovce amounted to approx. 3,200 m^2 (Gašaj 1983, 130)[4] (**Fig. 5**). As Ivan Ordentlich aptly observed with regard to OF settlements in Romania, they had to follow a regular layout to ensure efficient communication and traffic flow (of people as well as wagons/vehicles) inside the settlement (Ordentlich 1968, 143), all more so that the number of discovered huts and population estimates suggest very numerous communities. Based on the number of graves divided by the number of generations (with an average lifespan of around 30 years), the earlier settlement in Nižna Myšľa could have been inhabited by 150 to 200 persons, while the population of the later settlement amounted to 300–350 persons at any given time, given the presumed number of 50 dwellings inhabited by 6–7 people (Olexa 2003, 55). A quarter of the settlement area explored in Rozhanovce revealed 11 huts, therefore the author presumed that approximately 40 huts could have existed simultaneously (Gašaj 1983, 132). It should be noted that the settlements, whose area considerably exceeded the examples cited here (later settlement in Nižna Myšľa: 7 ha; Spišský Štvrtok approx. 6500 m^2), did not yield evidence of planned, regular development aligned to a network of streets (Olexa 1983a, 128; Gašaj 2002b, 36 fig. 6).

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[4] With respect to Rozhanovce, publications provide only a diameter of 50 m (Gašaj 1983, 130) or 40 m (Gašaj 2002b, 35) for the area surrounded by the defences. However, the first of the cited texts contains information that 800 m^2, i.e. a quarter of the entire settlement, had been explored (Gašaj 1983, 130). Hence, a presumed acreage of approx. 3,200 m^2 was the total area of the settlement.

Considering the reasoning delineated above, it should be concluded that trying to find impulses from the area of Mycenaean culture in the regular layout of structures in OF settlements is groundless and represents an attempt to deny local communities a basic pragmatic sense, which accompanied spatial development inside the settlements. Moreover, a dense and orderly arrangement of buildings enclosed by fortifications is by no means exclusive to the Bronze Age. In Southeastern Europe, regular layouts are found in many settlements (also tell settlements) of the Neolithic and the Copper Age (Gogâltan 2003, 230).

LONG-DISTANCE CONTACT, URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

The above critique of the sources originating from selected OF settlements is important, not only in terms of the debate relating to long-distance contacts in the Bronze Age. As already remarked, the defensive settlements and their features were to display a kinship with the Aegean precursors – the Mycenaean citadels. If one were to accept an “Aegean” origin of the form of fortifications and internal layout in Spišský Štvrtok and Košice-Barca (as well as other Carpathian settlements discussed in literature), this would mean that a particular relationship existed linking the representatives of both cultural circles. The connection would have to have been very close and profound as to engender similar social relationships and institutions, reflected in the local building methods, arrangements of social space and even in the emulations of architectural detail (Kristiansen/Larsson 2005, 167). In the light of current knowledge about the OF defensive settlement (and more broadly, about the Carpathian Basin itself), one sees a distinct purpose behind the shape of their spaces and a function which differed from those performed by Mycenaean citadels. The sites in the Carpathian Basin exclusively represent typical settlements surrounded by fortifications. Therefore, any comparison to Mycenaean fortified palaces is pointless (cf. Kienlin 2012, 289–297). The function of the latter is beyond dispute: they served as residences of local rulers and aristocracy (Kelder 2010, 110) as well as hubs in which control was exercised and goods were redistributed (Killen 2008). Being citadels, they overlooked the town proper. Palaces were by no means public locations, as they did not provide a gathering place for the community. Quite the opposite: access was granted to representatives of particular strata of Mycenaean society, which were closely associated with the local power structures. The social space of the Mycenaean citadels was in fact exclusively reserved for a select social group. The idea underlying the creation of Mycenaean citadels was one of exclusion. Their architecture restricted access to the interior of the palace, thereby excluding a part of the society, a majority in fact, from the events taking place within. The arrangement of specific architectural elements not only imposed constraints on being in but also on mobility within the palatial space (Maran 2012). Despite the differences observed in the structure of Mycenaean citadels, a range of similar architectural solutions is evident (megaron halls, propylon, courts, bathrooms; Hitchcock

2010, 203–204). Their presence can only be accounted for with concurrent political and ideological factors, which influenced their creation and subsequent functioning (Wright 2006). To a considerable extent, the persistent features of monumental, official architecture were associated with the central figures of Mycenaean social hierarchy and the functions they held (Younger 2005, 190). In contrast, Bronze Age defensive sites in the Carpathian Basin were settlements in the full sense of the word. They were inhabited by comprehensive (in terms of social structure), numerous populations, whose members performed all routine tasks and engaged in occupations associated with the everyday life of each household/family (e.g. production of metal, pottery, consumption, animal husbandry etc.) (Jaeger 2016). Unlike the Mycenaean citadels, the core idea, which governed the creation and the functioning of defensive settlements, was inclusion. The fortifications safeguarded the existing social and political order (regardless of its form), just as the citadels did, and protected the entirety of social actors within. Each spatial and architectural form, i.e. citadels and defensive settlements, offered distinct spaces in which social relationships took their shape, including the formation of potential hierarchy. Citadels were an autonomous symbol and the embodiment of the established political and social order of the Mycenaean society. The order was a hierarchical one, with an evident leadership of one ruler. Architecture and power were inseparably bound in the citadels, as their decline clearly demonstrates. Their downfall, resulting from the collapse of 1200 BC, led to a structural shift in the Mycenaean society, but did not cause it to vanish (Dickinson 2007).

SOCIAL SPACE IN THE DEFENSIVE SETTLEMENTS OF THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

In the case of defensive settlements of the OF culture as well as other cultural-geographic regions of the Carpathian Basin, no single site has been explored to a degree equal to key Mycenaean sites (e.g. Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos). As remarked above, even long-running excavations did not result in publications offering a comprehensive insight into the structure of the settlements and enabling a detailed discussion about the functions and significance of its individual structural elements. Nonetheless, based on current knowledge and increasingly often-employed, non-invasive research methods, one observes a number of important general features of their space and their considerable diversity. In each instance, this diversity calls for nuanced narration and regional contextualization, so as to counterbalance the previous approach in which the Carpathian settlements, taken *en masse*, were described on the basis of several, incompletely surveyed and studied examples.

First, fortifications usually enclosed the entire inhabited area. Exceptions to the rule are a regional phenomenon, encountered chiefly in the Hatvan OF settlements in Northeastern Hungary (Fischl et al. 2014). In these cases, the defences surrounded the tell, while another open settlement existed nearby. This spatial arrangement is most often interpreted as a manifestation of a hierarchical order with the central fortified tell and a satellite settlement as its economic base (Fischl et al. 2014, 373). Although such a scenario seems probable, it may be noted that none of such structures has been examined with respect to absolute chronology. Meanwhile, the difference in the thickness of strata between the tells and the adjoining settlements suggests that the potential subordination of one to the other as well as their spatial and functional relationships was circumscribed only to a limited period in the overall timespan of settlement in the tell. Only a precise chronology of the formation of such spatial arrangements may warrant conclusions concerning historical processes behind their creation. Other scenarios are possible as well, and social implications of each may be differently formulated, while the phenomenon of increasing stratification of the community need not be invoked. In this case, obtaining more comprehensive information about the emergence of spatial arrangements combining a tell and a satellite settlement would enable one to capture the dynamics of potential hierarchization among the inhabitants: from a settlement on

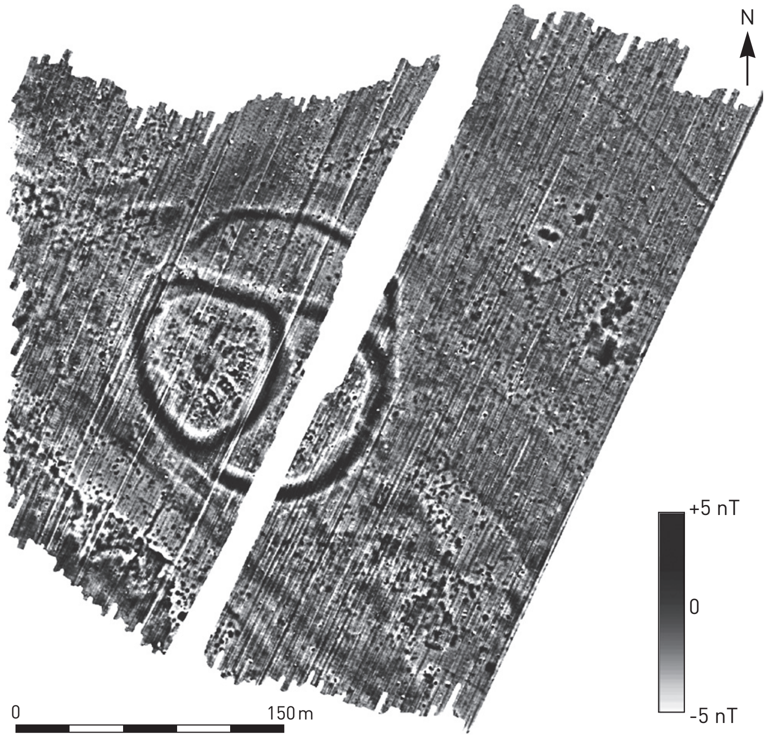

Fig. 6. Kakucs-Turján. Geomagnetic plan of the fortified settlement with a visible three-partite division of the interior (after Jaeger 2016).

even ground, through successive settlements (development of the tell) to the final (?) stage with a central fortified settlement and the neighbouring open settlement.

In many cases, the defensive forms known from the Middle Danube Basin are but an episode in the history of settlements located there. A number of Vatya sites display the traits of tell settlements. In theses instances, the settlement sequence begins with the Early Bronze Age Nagýrev culture (open settlements); possible fortifications are created in the later phases, and they do not appear immediately upon the emergence of the new style in pottery (Vatya) (Jaeger 2016, 91–92). In the Middle Danube area itself, there are perceptible local differences, which distinguish individual defensive settlements from one another.

A part of the Vatya settlements is characterized by a division into distinct sections, protected by separate lines of fortified structures (e.g. Sárbogárd-Cifrabolondvár, Vál-Pogányvár; Szeverényi/Kulcsár 2012, 301, 317). Research conducted at one of those, in Lovasberény-Mihályvár, warrants the conjecture that these precincts were set apart as each performed a different function. This latter site was investigated on an exceptionally large area of approx. 3,000 m^2 (Petres/Bándi 1969, 173), and a smaller section of the settlement (called Kisvár) was explored almost entirely. However, detailed information about the discovered building structures is not available. The publication concerning bone remains from the site mentions the discovery of 3 buildings and 80 pits (Choyke/Bartosiewicz 1987, 7). The pits were associated with economic activity, such as clay extraction and grain storage. The researchers also discovered remnants of a metallurgical workshop (Petres/Bándi 1969; Kovács 1982, 283). A part of the surveyed area did not yield any archaeological features, and was therefore interpreted as an area used for grazing (Kovács 1982, 283). The investigations at Lovasberény-Mihályvár were conducted on an exceptional scale (cf. Vicze 2000, 121 table 1). For a long time, its functional division remained an assertion, which was never confirmed by a comprehensive publication of the findings. Nevertheless, the correctness of the conjecture may be borne out by geomagnetic surveys conducted in the settlement of Kakucs-Turján (Jaeger 2016, 80–81), which revealed a similar three-partite division (**Fig. 6**). In one of the sections, the survey revealed dense residential structures. In another, numerous anomalies were detected, suggesting probable utility buildings, while in a third section there were relatively few indications of archaeological features. The hypothesis, presuming functional division into a residential section, a utility/production section and a kraal, is currently being verified as part of a Polish-Hungarian-German archaeological research project (Pető et al. 2015). Apart from settlements with such complex structures, there are other types to be found in that part of Hungary: settlements with no internal division and the whole inhabited area being surrounded by fortifications (e.g. Dabas-Dabasi szőlők; Szeverényi/Kulcsár 2012, 331) and those where partial fortifications and the form of the settlement were clearly adapted to the terrain (e.g. Dömsöd-Leányvár; Szeverényi/Kulcsár 2012, 329).

OF settlements on the territory of present-day Slovakia, which have been most readily commented upon in the spirit of “Mycenaean fascination" (Thrane 1990), offer only basic information about their interior. General layouts of the settlements demonstrate a relatively dense development enclosed by fortifications whose course was very often traced to dovetail with local topography (Jaeger 2016, 102–111).

Next to the regularity of the layout, one of the major arguments cited to support the claim of Aegean inspiration was the internal settlement division, whose existence was hypothesized in the case of settlements in Nižna Myšľa and Spišský Štvrtok. This division was to be manifested by the so-called acropoles (Olexa 1982, 331–332). The first reports about an acropolis in Spišský Štvrtok appeared in publications by Vladár (Vladár 1972, 21; 1975, 9–10). However, the schematic plan of the settlement, presented recently in a version showing the scale of excavations and the placement of discovered features (Vladár/Oravkinová 2015, 435 fig. 3), does not offer any details enabling identification of an acropolis and verification of the advanced thesis. Based on the information that the author of research at Spišský Štvrtok conveyed in various texts, Albrecht Jockenhövel attempted a schematic reconstruction of the locations of particular structures, i.e. the acropolis, cultic features (pits with human sacrifice, stele, pithos burials) and places associated with the processing of various raw materials (originally, the settlement was presumed to have been divided into a section reserved for crafts and the acropolis) (Jockenhövel 1990, 213, including note 26; 216 fig. 4). According to Vladár, the acropolis occupied the northwestern part of the settlement. Here, the huts with stone underpinnings were smaller than in the craft section, while their U-shaped arrangement was to form a kind of plaza, which was paved with stones (Vladár 1973, 290; 1975, 9–10). The abundant deposits discovered in the huts and above all the hoards of gold and bronze items, sometimes deposited in stone chests beneath the floors (Vladár 1972, 21–22; Vladár/Oravkinová 2015) apparently attested to the exceptional standing of the inhabitants of the acropolis (Vladár 1973, 290; Gašaj 2002b, 40 fig. 30). However, the most recent published version of the site's layout does not permit one to conclude that the buildings in the highest part of the settlement were in any way exceptional. The discovered structures do not form any regular arrangement. Additionally, the distribution of bronze and gold objects is not evidently concentrated in the part designated as the acropolis (Vladár/Oravkinová 2015, 435 fig. 3). The alleged sources underlying the hypothesis that an acropolis had existed in the earlier settlement in Nižna Myšľa do not inspire confidence either. Thus far, no layout showing its location has been published. It is probable that the term was applied to the entirety of the area surrounded by fortifications[5], to set it apart from the features located in the open area, between the fortifications and the cemetery (Olexa 1978, 179; 1986, 173). The only available information relating to the so-called acropolis includes the form of the floors, stone underpinnings, orientation and regular alignment of the huts (Olexa 1982, 331–332). Nevertheless, these elements by no means justify the use of a term so specific and provoking such unequivocal connotations as 'acropolis' (cf. Loukaki 1997).

CONCLUSIONS

The picture of the Bronze Age envisioned in the spirit of the centre-periphery model puts the Carpathian Basin in the sphere of influences originating from Aegean-Anatolian civilizations. This perspective has a marked impact on the notions and descriptions of the functioning of Carpathian communities, which, in view of the state of research, are known chiefly in the light of defensive settlements. The proposed modes of interpretation, such as the aforementioned *warriors on the move* (Kristiansen/Larsson

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[5] Just like in case of settlement in Rozhanovce (Gašaj 1983, 130).

2007), presume a very efficacious form of close interactions, as a result of which the communities inhabiting defensive settlements of Central Europe purportedly developed similar social institutions and emulated methods of constructing social and architectural spaces originating from the Mycenaean circle (Kristiansen/Larsson 2005, 162). The above critique of selected sources appears to contradict such views. The Carpathian Basin represents an area, which is clearly diversified in terms of environments, landscape and most of all culture. Therefore, even if one admits the existence of hypothetical close relationships with the Mycenaean world, it cannot be considered a space undergoing relatively fast and profound social change, which was not associated with the local tradition. On the contrary, the regional differences between defensive settlements (Jaeger 2016) offer evidence of a range of autonomous economic and cultural processes, which prompted their creation and functioning. Their success (measured by their stability and long-lasting development) depended primarily on local environmental conditions, organizational capacity and the dynamics of contacts, thanks to which innovations, technology and knowledge did not usually have to travel long geographical and cultural distances. Material evidence supporting the existence of relationships between Early Mycenaean elites and Central Europe, comprised chiefly of "northern products", should compel a change of perspective in the assessment of the weight and direction of the flow of cultural information between the Baltic Sea and the Aegean. Societies of the Central European Bronze Age cannot continue to be reduced to passive peripheral groups, which developed no significant cultural behaviours. Their material culture was an important element in the formation of the identity of Early Mycenaean culture (Maran/Van de Moortel 2014, 543–545). Current research focusing on the communities inhabiting defensive settlements must rely on a nuanced approach, whereby the position of specific cases is examined with respect to environmental and cultural conditions at a microregional level. Macroregional analysis and broader conclusions concerning the modes of forging social structures among the populations of defensive settlements should constitute the subsequent stage of research, based on data obtained through detailed investigation of individual cases.

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SOZIALE UNGLEICHHEIT IN BRONZEZEITLICHEN FRAUEN- UND MÄNNERGRÄBERN EUROPAS

ABSTRACT

Equality of opportunity is a leitmotif of our Western society. It is a concept which grows on the notion of social equality, introduced by J.-J. Rousseau in the mid-18th century, and which does not correspond to any old reality. Ancient societies are indeed built on family solidarity and clientelism, not on the fulfilment of each individual's potential. In comparison, the notion of equality/inequality refers primarily to economic differences and differences in status between social classes. The categories of women and men are not opposed in this context, but they are two halves of a given social class, whatever its status, which both together share a part of the advantages or disadvantages of their respective positions.

This contribution tries, however, to highlight differences between gender and age classes during the Bronze Age (2200 – 800 BC) in Central Europe and Northern Italy, based on the data of prehistoric archaeology, which are exclusively material and represent only a small part of the past reality. The evolution of the differentiated status between women, men, children, and young and older people over time seems to be of great historical interest. The burial, despite its ambiguous meaning, is the only context that allows us to identify an individual at the mentioned time span. Therefore, the differences are primarily noticeable in the necropolises. The criteria used in the analysis include the global analysis of each necropolis, the position and architecture of the graves, burial practices, grave goods, sex, age class and eating. The main necropolises examined are Asola – Sorbara Campagnotti (Prov. Mantova, I), Illasi – Cellore Arano (Prov. Verona, I), Singen am Hohentwiel (District Konstanz, D), Prag – Miškovice (CZ) and the princely tombs of the Únětice culture for the Early Bronze Age, as well as Nogara – Olmo (Prov. Verona, I), Casinalbo (Prov. Modena, I), the graveyards of Fratta Polesine – Frattesina (Prov. Rovigo, I), and Vufflens-la-Ville – En Sency (canton of Vaud, CH), the circum-alpine wagon-graves of Zuchering – Ost (Stadtkr. Ingolstadt, D), Neckarsulm – Trendpark Süd (Kr. Heilbronn, D) and Lausanne – Vidy (canton of Vaud, CH) for the Middle, Recent and Late Bronze Age.

In terms of equality/inequality, one's affiliation to a social class is the decisive factor and not gender. Nevertheless, according to gender both men and women were probably assigned to bear a workload related to their social position without any possibility to change. Differences in sex ratio, distribution by age classes, architecture, funerary practice, etc. appear in the examined necropolises. The grave goods are connoted by gender and age group, but there are always exceptions. Reality is therefore complex. During the Early Bronze Age, the accumulation of small clues concerning architecture, the position of graves, the representation of gender, pricy items, including temporal golden rings discovered in two male graves of Gazzo Veronese, and finally nutrition analysis results suggest that some men occupied a position apparently superior to that of some women from the same social class. On the other hand, there are a few female burials that are intriguing such as grave 60 from Arano or grave 32 from Prague. From the Middle Bronze Age, the dissimilarity between the necropolises to the north and to the south of the Alps grew significantly. Due to cremation rituals, which became dominant in Northern Italy during the Recent Bronze Age, there is a drastic reduction in objects deposited in graves and a disappearance of weapons, which

complicates the analysis. In Northern Italy, the transition from a society of lineages to a more strongly hierarchical society begins during the Late Bronze Age. Subsequently during the Iron Age, a centralised power and an aristocracy emerge, which could change gender relationships. As Maurice Godelier points out, we know that the dominance of one sex over the other plays a fundamental role in most human societies. However, equitable economic complementarity is also documented historically in Mesopotamia during the 2nd millennium BC. Nevertheless, the available data from the European Bronze Age do not allow a focus on one model over another. Therefore, inequalities and differences that exist in the Bronze Age corpus between women and men are not so simple to interpret.

(initial corrections by Sarah Elbiali)

SOZIALE UNGLEICHHEIT: EIN MODERNER BEGRIFF

Das Wort „Ungleichheit“ ist am besten durch das mathematische Symbol (≠) verstehbar. So impliziert der Ausdruck „Ungleichheit“ nicht unbedingt Wertunterschiede zwischen den Begriffen, die sich links und rechts des Symbols befinden. Aber sobald man das Adjektiv „sozial“ vor dem Begriff „Ungleichheit“ einfügt, wird die hierarchische Konnotation sehr stark infolge der Verknüpfung mit der Idee der Benachteiligung von Personen. Dieser Sinn ist seit einigen Jahren allgegenwärtig in unseren westlichen Gesellschaften. Die *Encyclopaedia Universalis* schlägt die folgende Definition der sozialen Ungleichheit vor[1]: „[…] eine **soziale Ungleichheit** ist das Ergebnis der ungleichen Verteilung, und zwar im mathematischen Sinne des Ausdrucks, der Ressourcen zwischen den Mitgliedern einer Gesellschaft, bedingt durch deren Struktur, wodurch ein **Gefühl der Ungerechtigkeit** unter seinen Mitgliedern entsteht“[2]. Dies bedeutet, dass soziale Ungleichheit existiert, wenn die Ressourcen einer Person höher als diejenigen einer anderen sind. Es handelt sich also um eine rein ökonomische Definition. Hinzu kommt das Gefühl der Ungerechtigkeit.

Dieser Begriff der Ungleichheit findet seinen Ursprung unter anderen in den Schriften des Genfer Philosophen Jean-Jacques Rousseau, insbesondere in „Die Abhandlung über den Ursprung und die Grundlagen der Ungleichheit unter den Menschen“ von 1755 und „Der Gesellschaftsvertrag“ von 1762 (Rousseau 1780-89). Die Faktoren für den Ursprung der Ungleichheit werden dort genau beschrieben. Rousseau unterscheidet zwei Sorten von Ungleichheiten[3]:

1) die Erste ist naturbedingt oder physisch und hat mit der Person zu tun, das heißt Unterschiede von Alter, Gesundheit, Körperkraft, Geist. Das Geschlecht bleibt jedoch unerwähnt;
2) die Zweite ist moralisch oder politisch und beinhaltet Unterschiede an Privilegien, Reichtum, Macht, Ehre.

Rousseau hat die Französische Revolution stark beeinflusst. Deren Werte haben sich mit der Verkündung der Menschenrechte dann in ganz Europa durchgesetzt und bilden noch heute die theoretische Basis für die Funktion der westlichen Demokratien.

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[1] Internet-Ausgabe. Es ist interessant und zu betonen, dass in der gedruckten Version des Jahres 1985 der Begriff „Soziale Ungleichheit“ noch nicht enthalten war: in der Zeit war dies noch kein Thema.

[2] Freie Übersetzung des Textes: *„une inégalité sociale est le résultat d'une distribution inégale, au sens mathématique de l'expression, entre les membres d'une société des ressources de cette dernière, due aux structures mêmes de cette société et faisant naître un sentiment d'injustice au sein de ses membres“* (Bihr/Pfefferkorn 2015, Internet-Ausgabe).

[3] *“Je conçois dans l'espece humaine deux sortes d'inégalité, l'une que j'appelle naturelle ou physique, parce qu'elle est établie par la nature, & qui consiste dans la différence des âges, de la santé, des forces du corps, & des qualités de l'esprit ou de l'ame: l'autre, qu'on peut appeller inégalité morale ou politique, parce qu'elle dépend d'une sorte de convention, & qu'elle est établie, ou du moins autorisée par le consentement des hommes. Celle-ci consiste dans les différens priviléges, dont quelques-uns jouissent au préjudice des autres, comme d'être plus riches, plus honorés, plus puissans qu'eux, ou mêmede s'en faire obéir“* (Rousseau 1755, 43).

Dementsprechend widmete sich die westliche Welt während des 20. Jahrhunderts erfolgreich der Reduzierung der sozialen Ungleichheiten. Allerdings hat die Globalisierung der Weltwirtschaft seit dem Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts neue Herausforderungen geschaffen, denen höchst schwer zu begegnen ist. Wenn heutzutage von sozialer Ungleichheit gesprochen wird, so wird dies weltweit verstanden. In Europa selbst bestehen weiterhin sehr unterschiedliche Lebensstandards nebeneinander her. In den einzelnen Ländern stehen neben Teilen der einheimischen Bevölkerung, die in wirtschaftlichen Schwierigkeiten bzw. prekären Verhältnissen leben, Minderheiten von Immigranten, die zumeist noch stärker benachteiligt sind. Hauptfaktoren sozialer Ungleichheit sind heutzutage Geschlecht, Alter, Ausbildung und Berufsfähigkeit, ethnische Abstammung, Religion und Geburtsort. Diese Faktoren sind miteinander verknüpft und bilden ein System: Während sich auf der einen Seite der gesellschaftlichen Rangordnung die Privilegien summieren, mehren sich auf der anderen die Handicaps.

Das Schlagwort Chancengleichheit ist in der westlichen Welt zu einem Leitmotiv der gesellschaftlichen Diskussion geworden und wird von den politischen Parteien gern und häufig verwendet. Zwei Trends sind dabei zu beobachten. Diese sind so gegensätzlich, dass eine historische Klarstellung erlauben könnte, das Ganze auch aus dem Blickwinkel des Status zu sehen. Hier ist die Frage zu klären, ob die europäische Vorgeschichtsforschung einen wirklichen Beitrag zur Klärung dieser Frage liefern kann oder ob sie sich damit lediglich ein Modethema zu Eigen macht.

ERLÄUTERUNG DES VORGEHENS

Im Rahmen dieses Artikels werde ich mich auf Grabfunde beschränken und dabei zwei Faktoren der sozialen Ungleichheit untersuchen, und zwar das Geschlecht und die Altersklassen der Erwachsenen, namentlich den Unterschied zwischen Nicht-Erwachsenen und Erwachsenen. Die anderen Faktoren können nur selten und schwer bestimmt werden. In Nekropolen gelten als Kriterien für soziale Ungleichheit die Architektur bzw. Bauform der Gräber, manchmal die Lage im Gräberfeld, das Totenritual und die Beigaben. Einige naturwissenschaftliche Analysen ergänzen das Bild. Die Untersuchung von verschiedenen Nekropolen der gleichen Kulturgruppe, von gleichzeitigen Kulturgruppen und von mehreren Zeitphasen in der gleichen Region können ebenfalls aufschlussreiche Informationen bringen.

Es muss natürlich betont werden, dass das Grab nicht die echte soziale Realität der gestorbenen Person widerspiegelt, sondern nur das Bild, das die Gruppe von sich selbst und von seinen Mitgliedern präsentieren will. Das Grab dokumentiert eine Täuschung bzw. ein Trugbild der sozialen Rolle der Menschen. Diese sollte mit Hilfe weiterer Daten – unter Einbeziehung der Siedlungen und Hortfunde – entschlüsselt werden. Aber das Grab bleibt nun mal fast die einzige archäologische Kategorie, die es erlaubt, sich dem einzelnen Individuum anzunähern.

Die archäologischen Beispiele betreffen die gesamte Bronzezeit und stammen von nördlich und südlich der Alpen (**Abb. 1**). Der Vergleich der beiden Regionen belegt eine unterschiedliche Entwicklung der Gesellschaften und daher der sozialen Ungleichheit beiderseits der Alpen. Am Ende werden noch die daraus für die Bedeutung der Geschlechter resultierenden Folgen andiskutiert.

Eine genaue Chronologie ist sehr wichtig, um die verschiedenen Regionen und Nekropolen miteinander zu vergleichen. Das hier verwendete chronologische System wurde zum Teil im Rahmen eines Forschungsprojekts über *Gender Studies* entwickelt (Früh-, Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit beiderseits der Alpen: David-Elbiali/David 2009; David et al. 2017; Urnenfelderzeit: David-Elbiali 2013).

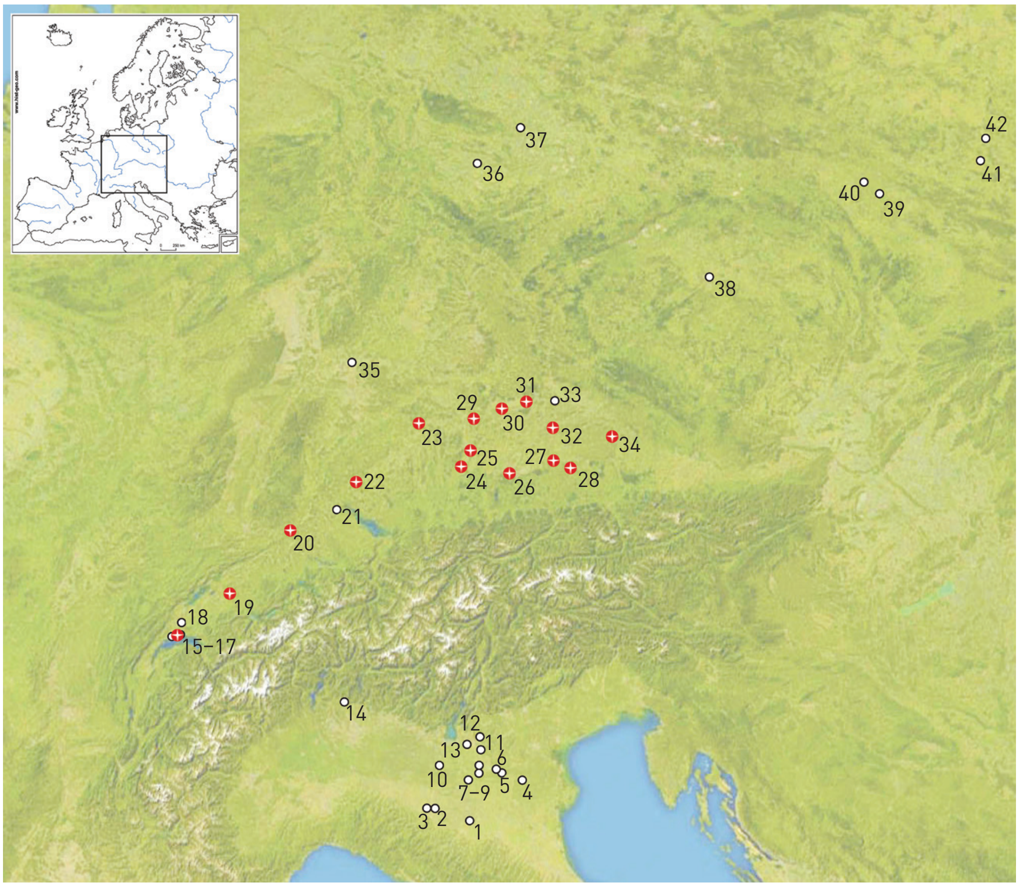

Abb. 1. Kartierung der erwähnten Nekropolen [http://www.satellite10.com/]. 10: Asola – Sorbara Campagnotti (Mantua, I), 33: Asenkofen (Kr. Freising, D),3: Beneceto – Forno del Gallo (Parma, I), 25: Bergen (Kr. Aichach-Friedberg, D), 19: Bern – Kirchenfeld (Bern, CH), 11: Bovolone – Fondo Mirandola (Verona, I), 29: Bruck (Kr. Neuburg an der Donau, D), 41: Bruszczewo (Leszno, PL), 1: Casinalbo (Modena, I), 14: Como – Ca' Morta (Como, I), 32: Essenbach (Kr. Landshut, D), 4: Fratta Polesine – Frattesina Le Narde I-II / Fondo Zanotto (Rovigo, I), 8: Gazzo Veronese – Valserà (Verona, I), 37: Gerbstedt – Helmsdorf (Kr. Mansfeld-Südharz, D), 27: Hart an der Alz (Kr. Altötting, D), 12: Illasi – Cellore Arano (Verona, I), 20: Kaisten (Aargau, CH), 40: Kąty Wrocławskie (Kanth, PL), 23: Könnigsbronn (Kr. Heidenheim, D), 17: Lausanne – Vidy (Vaud, CH), 6: Legnago – Scalvinetto (Verona, I), 42: Łęki Małe (Łódź, PL), 36: Leubingen (Kr. Sömmerda, D), 22: Mengen (Kr. Sigmaringen, D), 31: Münchmünster (Kr. Pfaffenhofen an der Ilm, D), 35: Neckarsulm – Trendpark Süd (Kr. Heilbronn, D), 9: Nogara – Olmo (Verona, I), 24: Oberottmarshausen (Kr. Augsburg, D), 26: Poing (Kr. Ebersberg, D), 13: Povegliano – Gambaloni (Verona, I), 2: Poviglio – San Rosa (Parma, I), 38: Prag – Miškovice (CZ), 7: Roncoferraro – Cascina Due Madonne (Mantova, I), 34: Ruhstorf an der Rott – Hader (Kr. Passau, D), 16: Saint-Sulpice (Vaud, CH), 21: Singen – Am Hohentwiel (Kr. Konstanz, D), 28: Staudach (Bez. Braunau am Inn, A), 39: Szczepankowice (Schönbankwitz, PL), 15: Tolochenaz – Le Boiron / La Caroline (Vaud, CH), 5: Villabartolomea – Franzine Nuove (Verona, I), 18: Vufflens-la-Ville – En Sency (Vaud, CH), 30: Zuchering – Ost (Kr. Ingolstadt, D).

FRÜHBRONZEZEITLICHE FRAUEN- UND MÄNNERGRÄBER SÜDLICH UND NÖRDLICH DER ALPEN

Die Frühbronzezeit (2200–1500 v. Chr.) ist für seine Körpergräbernekropolen bekannt und zahlreiche mitteleuropäische Gräberfelder gehören in diese Zeit. Zur Veranschaulichung dieser Periode wurden bedeutende Nekropolen von südlich und nördlich der Alpen ausgewählt.

Asola – Sorbara Campagnotti (Prov. Mantua, I)

Die Nekropole von Asola–Sorbara Campagnotti liegt nahe von Mantua in der Po-Ebene auf einer Terrasse des Flusses Chiese (Baioni 2000; de Marinis 2003). Das Gräberfeld wurde 1999 von Luciano Salzani auf einer Fläche von 1.2 Hektar ausgegraben und gehört in die ältere Frühbronzezeit (BA I = BzA1/A2a). Die 19 Gräber verteilen sich auf drei topographische Gruppen (**Abb. 2**).

Totenritual und Graborientierung

Nur Körpergräber wurden dokumentiert und die Leichen wurden offensichtlich geschlechtsdifferenziert orientiert bestattet, was eine während dieser Periode in Europa häufige Praxis darstellt.

Geschlecht und Altersklassen

Fünf Individuen sind Kinder oder Juvenile; die Verteilung zwischen den Geschlechtern scheint ausgeglichen zu sein (**Tab. 1**)[4]. Alle Geschlechter und Altersklassen liegen auf dem Gräberfeld untereinander gemischt.

Grabarchitektur

Die Toten wurden in Asola in einfache Gruben gelegt, wobei im Grabbau zwischen Frauen- und Männergräbern keine Unterschiede festzustellen sind.

Beigaben

Nur in fünf Gräbern wurden Beigaben gefunden. Vier von diesen sind vermutlich weibliche Gräber mit Schmuck (Abb. 2). Ein einziges männliches Grab, und zwar das eines Juvenilen, enthielt Beigaben – unter anderem einen Doppelspiralanhänger. Die Frauengräber enthielten häufiger und mehr Beigaben als die Männergräber. Es handelt sich dabei um Schmuck. Die Frauenbeigaben sind einander aber so ähnlich, dass man sich fragt, ob die Beigaben nicht eher Zeichen einer sozialen Rolle als der Spiegel eines einfachen Unterschiedes in Reichtum bzw. Besitz darstellen.

Illasi–Cellore Arano (Prov. Verona, I)

Die Nekropole von Illasi–Cellore Arano (Verona) liegt am südlichen Rand der Monti Lessini nahe der Po-Ebene. Sie wurde 2007–2008 von Luciano Salzani ausgegraben. Sie zählt 61 Gräber und ist die größte Nekropole der Frühbronzezeit, die bisher in Norditalien gefunden wurde (Valzolgher et al. 2012; Salzani 2012–2013; de Marinis/Valzolgher 2013; Salzani et al. 2015; Varalli et al. 2016). Sie wurde über mehr als zwei Jahrhunderte, ungefähr zwischen 2000 und 1800 BC nach C14-Daten (BA IB–BA IC = BzA2a), belegt (Salzani 2012–2013, 196).

Totenritual und Graborientierung

Eine Brandbestattung (Gr. 22) bleibt singulär, ansonsten gibt es nur Köperbestattungen mit 53 Einzel-, vier Doppel- und vier Dreifachgräbern; sechs grabartige Strukturen waren leer (**Abb. 3**). Die Orientierung der Bestattungen ist geschlechtsdifferenziert: die weiblichen Individuen liegen auf der rechten Seite mit dem Kopf im Norden bis Nordosten, und die männlichen auf der linken Seite mit dem Kopf im Süden bis Südwesten, fast so wie in Asola. Es gibt einige Ausnahmen. So waren zwei Männer – Gr. 53 und 64 – in gleicher Ausrichtung wie die Frauen bestattet worden, während eine Frau (Gr. 63) die gleiche Ausrichtung wie die Männer aufwies. Außerdem waren die in Frauengrab 60 und in Männergrab 43 Bestatteten zwar jeweils auf der rechten Seite gelagert, allerdings mit dem Kopf im Süden und der Blickrichtung nach Osten.

Geschlecht und Altersklassen

Die anthropologische Untersuchung von 72 Individuen, davon 44 Erwachsene, ergab eine ungewöhnliche Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung: nur 13 sind Frauen (davon eine einzige *mature* älter als 45 Jahre), während 31 der Bestatteten Männer sind (drei davon *matur* und einer *senil*) (Salzani 2012–2013, 91–172,

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[4] Die anthropologischen Bestimmungen sind noch nicht verfügbar.

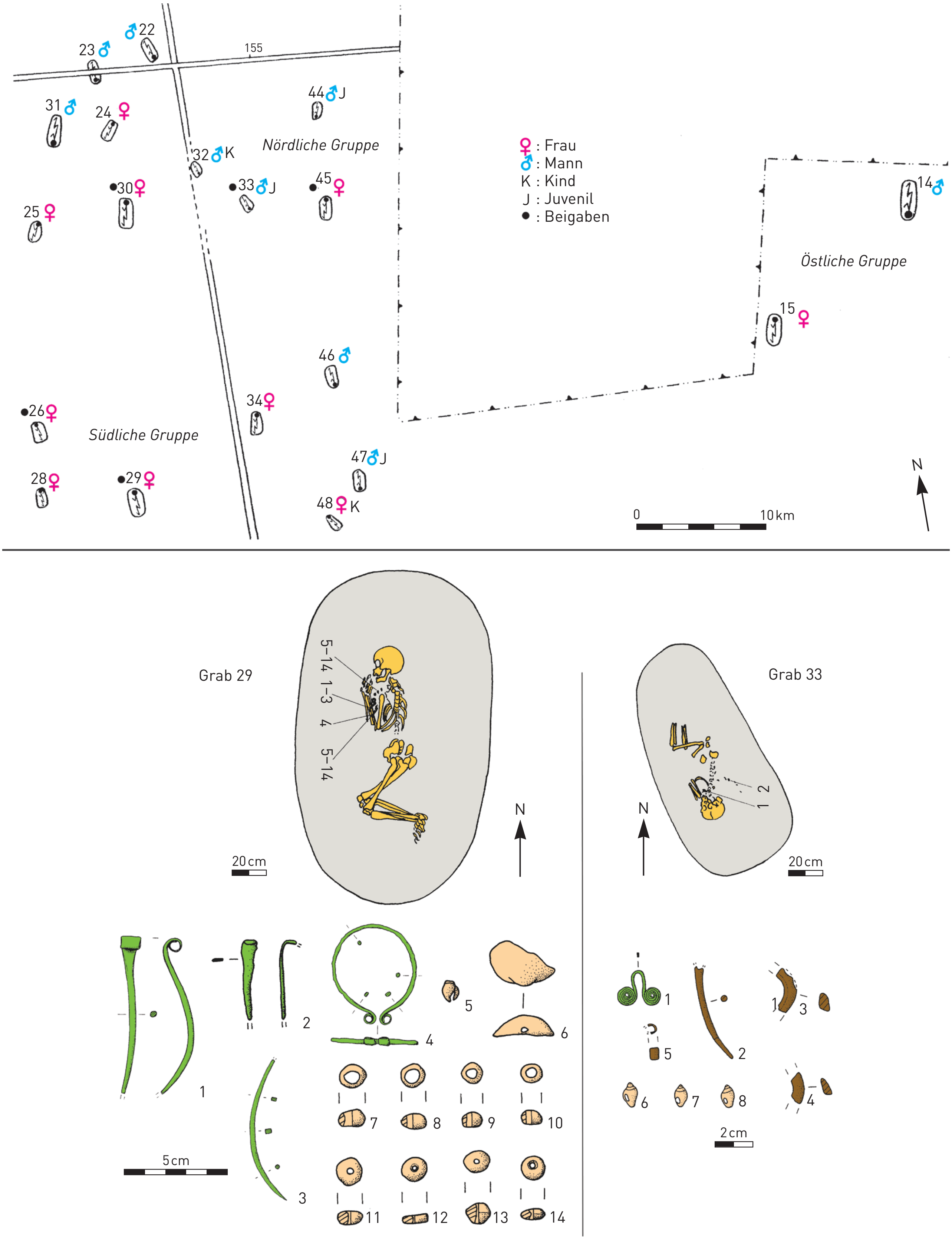
♀ : Frau
♂ : Mann
K : Kind
J : Juvenil
● : Beigaben
Nördliche Gruppe
Südliche Gruppe
Östliche Gruppe
155
22 ♂
23 ♂
31 ♂
24 ♀
44 ♂ J
32 ♂ K
30 ♀
33 ♂ J
45 ♀
25 ♀
14 ♂
15 ♀
46 ♂
34 ♀
26 ♀
47 ♂ J
28 ♀
29 ♀
48 ♀ K
0
10 km
N
Grab 29
Grab 33
5–14
1–3
4
5–14
1
2
20 cm
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
5 cm
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
2 cm

Abb. 2. Asola – Sorbara Campagnotti (Prov. Mantua, I). Gräberfeldplan oben und unten Plan und Beigaben der Gräber 29 und 33 (Gr. 29: 1–4, Kupfer; 5–14: Muscheln; Gr. 33: 1: Kupfer; 2–5: Knochen; 6–8: Muscheln) (nach Baioni 2000, ergänzt).

Tab. 1. Asola – Sorbara Campagnotti (Prov. Mantua, I). Liste der Gräber (Chrono: FBI, Frühbronzezeit I; Seite: R, rechts; L, links; Geschlecht: F, Frau, M, Mann; Alter: K, Kind; J, Juvenil; a, Erwachsene).

Chrono	Gruppe	Nr.	Orientierung	Seite	Gesch.	Alter	Grube [m]	Nadel	Ösenring	Anhänger	Ring	Perlen	Sonstiges
	S	48	N-S	R	F	K	1,20x0,80						
FBI	N	30	N-S	R	F	a	2,20x1,25	1 Knochen			x	14	
	O	15	N-S	R	F	a	2,15x1,20						
FBI	S	29	N-S	R	F	a	2,10x1,25	2 Cu	x Cu			10	Schaft Cu
	S	34	N-S	R	F	a	1,90x0,90						
	N	25	N-S	R	F	a	1,88x1,10						
	N	24	N-S	R	F	a	1,80x1,05						
FBI	N	45	N-S	R	F	a	1,70x1,00	1 Cu	x Cu		x	>20	
	S	26	N-S	R	F	a	1,60x1,00					1 Cu	
	S	28	N-S	R	F	a	1,57x0,90						
	N	32	S-N	L	M	K	1,20x0,85						
	S	47	S-N	L	M	J	1,65x1,00						
	N	44	S-N	L	M	J	1,55x0,80						
FBI	N	33	SSO-NNW	L	M	J	1,50x0,75	1 Knochen		x Cu		4	2 Knochen
	N	31	SSW-NNO	L	M	a	2,45x1,30						
	O	14	S-N	L	M	a	2,20x1,10						
	N	22	SSO-NNW	L	M	a	1,90x1,10						
	N	23D	S-N	L	M	a	1,90x0,80						
	S	46	S-N	L	M	a	1,05x0,90						

Katalog der Gräber). Ungefähr 40 % der Toten, nämlich 29, sind Nichterwachsene: zehn davon sind Kleinkinder (0–6 Jahre alt), von den übrigen gehören acht in die Altersgruppe von 7–12 Jahren (vier Knaben, ein Mädchen und drei unbestimmten Geschlechts) und zwölf waren 13–19 Jahre alt (acht Knaben, drei Mädchen und ein unbestimmter). Ab dem siebten Lebensjahr waren diese Bestatteten in gleicher Weise wie die Erwachsenen geschlechtsdifferenziert orientiert.

Grabarchitektur

Die Architektur der Gräber besteht aus einer Umfassung und Abdeckung aus Steinen. Sie reicht von einer einfachen Steinreihe bis zu regelrechten Mäuerchen, wie für das monumentale Männergrab 18. Bei einigen Gräbern fehlt diese Steinarchitektur: z.B. bei Bestattungen von Kindern und Jugendlichen (Gr. 50, 54, 57), aber auch bei manchen Gräbern weiblicher und männlicher Erwachsener (z.B. Gr. 30, 53, 55, 63).

Beigaben

Das Gräberfeld bestätigt die Spärlichkeit der Beigaben in Nordostitalien während der ersten Hälfte der Frühbronzezeit (Salzani 2012–2013, 54–58; Varalli et al. 2016, 105–106, Taf. 4). Nur 14 der insgesamt 61 Gräber enthielten Beigaben: eine Miniaturtasse in einem Dreifachgrab von Kindern (Gr. 19), kleine Schmuckelemen-

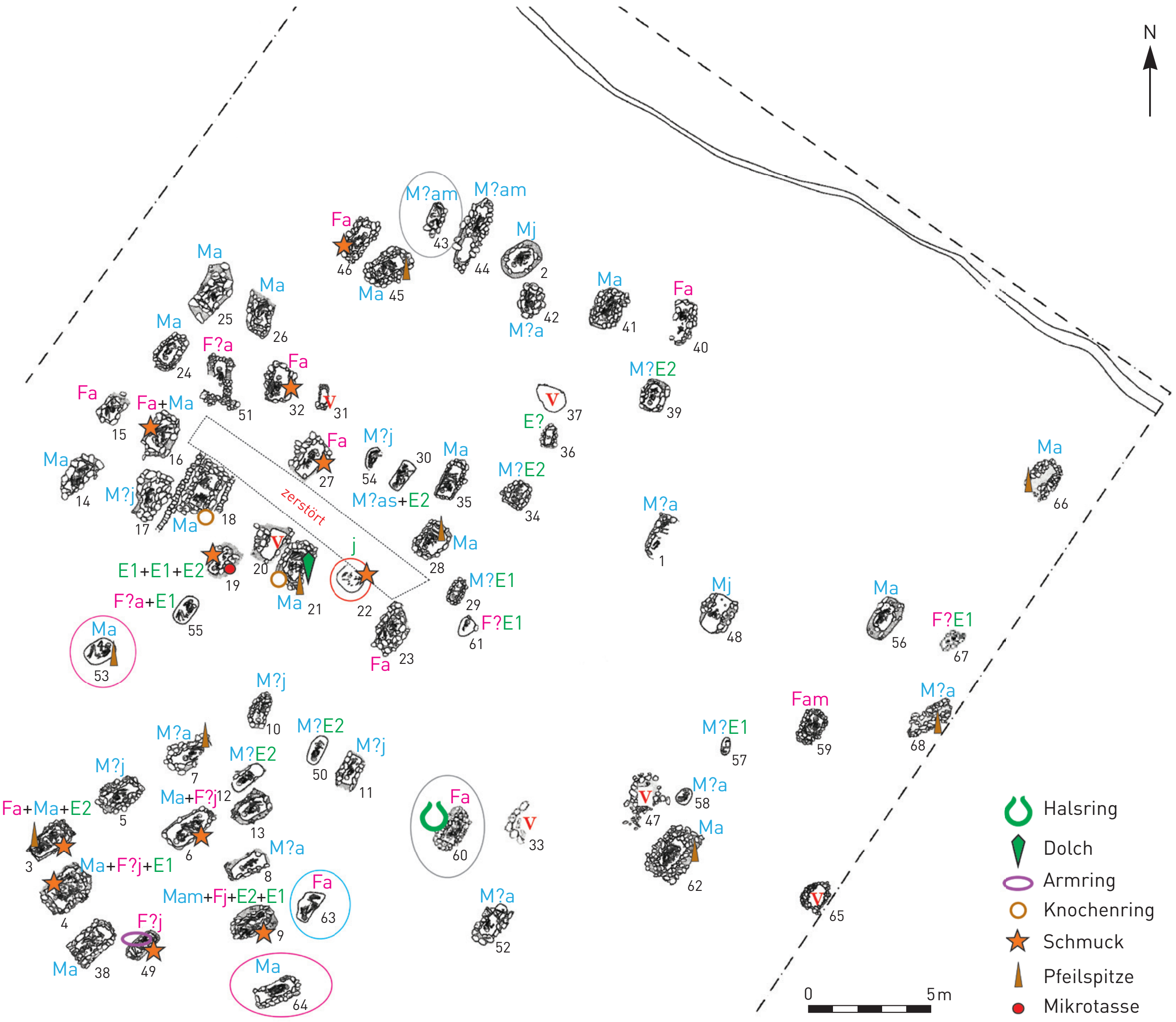
N
M?am
M?am
Fa
43
Mj
46
44
Ma 45
2
Ma
Ma
Ma
Fa
25
42
M?a
41
40
26
Ma
24
F?a
Fa
M?E2
32
V
31
51
39
Fa
Fa+Ma
15
V
37
E?
36
Ma
16
Fa
M?j
27
30
54
Ma
M?E2
14
M?j
M?as+E2
35
34
M?a
Ma
66
zerstört
17
Ma
18
Ma
28
1
j
V
E1+E1+E2
19
20
M?E1
29
Ma
21
22
Mj
Ma
F?E1
F?a+E1
55
61
48
56
F?E1
67
Ma
53
23
Fa
M?j
10
Fam
M?a
M?E2
M?E1
57
59
68
M?a
7
M?j
M?E2
50
11
M?j
Fa
M?a
Ma+F?j
12
5
V
58
Fa+Ma+E2
13
V
47
Ma
6
M?a
33
60
62
3
Ma+F?j+E1
8
Fa
4
Mam+Fj+E2+E1
63
M?a
V
65
F?j
9
52
Ma
38
49
Ma
64
0
5 m
Halsring
Dolch
Armring
Knochenring
Schmuck
Pfeilspitze
Mikrotasse

Abb. 3. Illasi – Cellore Arano (Prov. Verona, I). Gräberfeldplan (F: weiblich; M: männlich; a: Erwachsene 20–45 Jahre; am: Erwachsene 45–60 Jahre; as: Erwachsene >60Jahre; J/j: Jugendliche 13–19 Jahre; E1: Kind 0–6 Jahre; E2: Kind 7–12 Jahre; äußere Kreis: bemerkenswertes Grab; V: leere grabartige Struktur) (Plan nach de Marinis/Valzolgher 2013, ergänzt).

te – Steinperlen, Anhänger aus Stein und Knochen, Dentaliumstücke, zwei bikonische Fayenceperlen – in einigen Frauen- und Kindergräbern sowie im einzigen Brandgrab. Pfeilspitzen aus Feuerstein wurden in den Gräbern 3, 7, 21, 28 entdeckt und auch in der Auffüllung der Gräber 45, 53, 62, 66 und 68, die alle Männergräber sind[5]. Nur drei Metallgegenstände aus Fahlerz-Kupfer wurden deponiert: ein Ösenhalsring im Frauengrab 60, eine Dolchklinge mit einem Knochenring im Männergrab 21 und ein dünner Armring im Frauengrab 49. Aus dem Männergrab 18 mit seiner beträchtlichen Architektur aus Kieseln stammt zudem ein Knochenring. In Analogie zu demjenigen aus Grab 21 wird dieser Knochenring als Teil des Griffs eines (rituellen) Holzdolches angesehen (Salzani 2012–2013, 55). Einige Gräber wie das Gr. 45 haben ein leeres Teil am Fuß des Skelettes und dort wurde möglicherweise organisches Material deponiert.

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[5] (Salzani 2012–2013, 82–85, Taf. X): die meisten wurden in der Erdfüllung gefunden und wahrscheinlich gehören nicht alle zur Frühbronzezeit sondern ein Teil zur Kupferzeit. Diejenigen aus der Frühbronzezeit wurden möglicherweise als tödliche Waffen eingesetzt.

Topographische Organisation

Die Männergräber 18 und 21 liegen in der gleichen Reihe (Abb. 3). Sie werden durch eine leere grabartige Struktur voneinander getrennt. Östlich von ihnen liegt zudem das Brandgrab 22, westlich davon das Doppelgrab 16 mit Schmuck, und südlich davon in der Mitte liegt das Kinderdreifachgrab 19 mit Schmuck und Miniaturgefäß. Nördlich dieser Reihe liegen zwei Frauengräber mit Schmuck (Gr. 27 und Gr. 32). Die anderen Gräber, die Schmuck und Pfeilspitzen enthielten, liegen südwestlich davon und bilden eine Gruppe aus mehreren Doppel- und Dreifachgräbern. Etwas abseits liegt östlich davon das Frauengrab 60 mit dem obenerwähnten Ösenhalsring und der besonderen Orientierung des Leichnams. Im Norden und Osten der Nekropole lagen ausschließlich Einzelgräber fast alle ohne Beigaben.

Ernährung

Bezüglich der Ernährung zeigte die Analyse der Kohlenstoff- und Stickstoffisotopen in den Knochen, dass es keine signifikanten Unterschiede zwischen Männern und Frauen sowie zwischen Bestatteten mit und ohne Beigaben gibt (Varalli et al. 2016, 108). Jedoch ist festzustellen, dass das Nahrungsspektrum der Männer breiter als dasjenige der Frauen ist, was auf eine abwechslungsreichere Ernährung hindeutet. Und es gibt innerhalb der Gruppe der Männer auch eine größere interindividuelle Ungleichheit als bei den Frauen.

Schlussbemerkungen

Das Gräberfeld von Arano fällt durch den geringen Anteil weiblicher Gräber auf. Es gibt mehr als doppelt so viele Männergräber. Bezüglich des Grabbaus besitzt die Mehrheit der Einzelgräber mit weiblichen Bestattungen Steineinbauten. Darin unterscheiden sich diese Frauengräber kaum von den Männergräbern, auch wenn keines eine so massive Architektur wie das Männergrab 18 aufweist.

Die Frauengräber sind über alle Teile der Nekropole verstreut und liegen in der Nähe von Männer- und Kindergräbern. Weibliche Individuen sind in zwei der vier Doppelgräber und in zwei der vier Dreifachgräber belegt. Sie sind jeweils mit Männer- und Kinderbestattungen vergesellschaftet. Insgesamt gesehen findet sich die Mehrheit der weiblichen Gräber jedoch im zentralen und südlichen Teil der Nekropole, während sie in der Nord- und Ostgruppe sehr selten sind.

Betreffs der Beigaben ist der Schmuck der Frauen weit entfernt von Prunkhaftigkeit. Weder gibt es Hinweise auf einen größeren Reichtum oder einen besonderen Status. In einigen Fällen dürfte es sich ohnehin möglicherweise um Gegenstände apotropäischen Charakters handeln, die übrigens auch in den Kindergräbern deponiert wurden.

Was die Frau aus Grab 60 angeht, so legen die eigentümliche Totenorientierung – wie nördlich der Alpen auf der rechten Seite mit dem Kopf im Süden und dem Gesicht nach Osten liegend – und das Vorkommen eines Ösenhalsringes, der in gleichzeitige Frauengräbern nördlich der Alpen recht häufig belegt ist, es nahe, in der Bestatteten eine Person fremden Ursprungs zu sehen.

Auch bei den Männern sind die Beigaben eher bescheiden. So ist der Dolch aus Grab 21 klein und die Knochenringe gehören zum Griff des Dolches, wahrscheinlich auch im Grab 18.

Alles in allem lassen sich aus der Nekropole von Arano Hinweise auf eine lediglich schwach ausgeprägte Hierarchie innerhalb der Gruppe der Bestatteten gewinnen. Die Männer scheinen jedoch einen höheren Status als die Frauen besessen zu haben. Sie verfügten wohl über bessere Lebensbedingungen, die möglicherweise häufiger zum Anspruch auf ein Grab und zudem auf ein solches mit eindrucksvollem Steinbau führten (Gr. 18, 62?) und zudem eine abwechslungsreichere Ernährung einschlossen.

Singen am Hohentwiel (Kr. Konstanz, D)

Nördlich der Alpen zeigt die etwas ältere (~2200–1950 calBC / Bz A1–Bz A2a früh) Nekropole von Singen am Hohentwiel ein leicht anderes Bild (Krause et al. 1988). Sie liegt nordwestlich des Bodensees in einer hügeligen Landschaft. Zwischen 1950 und 1958 wurden insgesamt 93 Gräber von Archäologen ausgegraben.

Totenritual und Graborientierung

Es handelt sich ausschließlich um Körperbestattungen, die geschlechtsdifferenziert orientiert sind. Die Frauen liegen auf der rechten Seite mit dem Kopf im Süden, die Männer in entgegengesetzter Ausrichtung mit dem Kopf im Norden.

Geschlecht und Altersklassen

Von den meisten Gräbern sind Geschlecht und Altersklasse bekannt oder das Geschlecht wird zumindest begründet vermutet (**Tab. 2**). In Singen erscheint der Anteil der beiden Geschlechter an den Bestattungen ausbalanciert: 26 Gräber pro Geschlecht. Der schlechte Erhaltungszustand der Knochen erklärt die wenigen Angaben zur Altersbestimmung, insbesondere bei den Frauen. Mehr als die Hälfte der Individuen mit weiblich orientierter Skelettlage sind Kinder, wohingegen Kinder bei den Gräbern mit männlicher Körperlage nur ein Fünftel ausmachen.

Grabarchitektur

Was den Grabbau angeht, hat Rüdiger Krause, der das Gräberfeld in seiner Tübinger Dissertation bearbeitete, sieben Typen unterschieden. Der Gebrauch von Baumsärgen scheint gesichert zu sein. Der Sarg wurde in der Grabgrube deponiert und mit Ecksteinen stabilisiert. Die meisten Gräber besitzen zudem eine Steinumfassung. Die Zahl der Gräber ist jedoch zu gering, um zu schlussfolgern, dass das Fehlen einer Steinumfassung ein Kriterium für einen niedrigeren Sozialstatus darstellen könnte. Vielmehr scheint dies sogar unwahrscheinlich zu sein, weil drei Männer- und vier Frauengräber, unter diesen auch das reiche Frauengrab 7, keine Steinumfassung aufweisen.

Beigaben

Beigaben erscheinen in Singen viel häufiger als in Norditalien und stehen im Zusammenhang mit dem jeweiligen Geschlecht und der Altersklasse. Die Frauengräber sind insgesamt besser ausgestattet als die Männergräber. Von den 26 Frauengräbern beinhalten 23 Beigaben, die übrigen drei zeigten grüne Spuren auf den Knochen. Von den 26 männlichen Bestattungen enthielten 21 Beigaben und fünf waren beigabenlos.

In den Männergräbern ist nur der Dolch häufig. In Frauengräbern kommt er nur zweimal vor, und zwar in Gräbern erwachsener Frauen. Gegenstände wie Halsring und Pfriem fehlen bei den Männern, Armringe und Nadeln sind selten. Die Armringe in Männergräbern zählen nur wenige Windungen und die Nadeln aus männlichen Bestattungen sind kleiner als diejenigen aus Frauengräbern und zudem unverziert.

Topographische Organisation

Die Nekropole besteht aus mehreren Gruppen von Bestattungen, die voneinander durch gräberfreie Zonen getrennt sind (**Abb. 4**). Das Gräberfeld dehnt sich von der Gruppe I im Norden ausgehend in Richtung Süden aus, wo die Gruppe IV als jüngste liegt. Zwei weiter entfernt liegende Gräber bilden die Gruppe V. Jede der Gruppen besitzt eine andere innere Organisation. So zeichnet sich die Gruppe II durch das Vorkommen mehrerer Steinkistengräber aus, die in den anderen Gräbergruppen nicht belegt sind. Ungünstigerweise ist gerade diese Gruppe II schlecht dokumentiert. Bezüglich der Verteilung der Geschlechter liefern die Untergruppe Ib und die Gruppe III sehr konträre Informationen.

Untergruppe Ib

Die Untergruppe Ib erinnert an eine Familiengruppe, die auf das Grab einer maturen Frau (Grab 29) ausgerichtet erscheint, deren Sarg mit einer markanten Steinarchitektur umgeben ist. Aus dem Grab stammen eine verzierte Rudernadel, ein Halsring und ein Armring. In der Nähe dieses Frauengrabes liegen drei weitere Frauengräber mit Schmuck,

Tab. 2. Singen – Am Hohentwiel (Kr. Konstanz, D). Liste der Gräber (Alter: K, Kind; J, Juvenil; a, Erwachsene; m, matur; s, senil; Seite: R, rechts; L, links; Geschlecht: F, Frau; M, Mann; Dolch: A, atlantischer Typ; 3, 4, 5, drei-, vier-, fünfnietiger Dolch; L, langer Blatt (nach Krause 1988); Nadel: R, Rudernadel; R*, verzierte Rudernadel; H, Horkheimer Nadel; S, Scheibennadel; Architektur (nach Krause 1988, 33–36): B, Baumsarg, S, Steinumfassung; Gruppe. (nach Krause 1988, Abb. 5–6).

Alter	Nr.	Orient.	Seite	Gesch.	Dolch	Armring	Nadel	Pfriem	Halsring	Knochenring	Verschiedenes	Architektur	Gruppe
K1	46	SSW-NNO	?	?		x						3: B	1c
K1/2	6	SSW-NNO	R	?		x	R				4 Beinperlen	~1: B+S	1a
K2	19	S-N	R	F/M?		x	R	x		x		2: B+S	1a
K?	86	S-N	?	?		x	R	x				4: B+S	4
K2	12	S-N	R	?		x	R*			x		2: B+S	1a
K?	92	S-N	R	?		x	H					~3: B	4
K2	82	S-N	R	F?		x		x		x	Fayence-Gagat-perle, Tierzahn	~1: B+S	4
K/J	83	SSO-NNW	R?	?		x	H	x	x		2 Tutuli	1: B+S	4
aj	7	S-N	R	F	3	x	R*	x			Ring Ag, Knopf	3: B	1a
aj	74	N-S	L	F		x	S?					~1: B+S	3
a+NN	80	S-N	R	F+?			R*		x		2 Fußspiralen	1: B+S	4
m	29	SW-NO	R	F		x	R*		x			~1: B+S	1b
m	57	S-N	R	F			x	x			1 Tutulus	~1: B+S	2a
s	65	S-N	R	F	3	x	R*	x				1: B+S	3
?	87	S-N	R	?		x	R	x				~3: B	4
?	96	S-N	?	?		x	H		x		Lunula	Steine	4
?	26	SSW-NNO	R?	?		x	R?				Diadem	Steine	1b
?	31	SSW-NNO	?	?		x			x			3: B	1b
?	89	SSO-NNW	?	?			R?	x				4: B+S	4
?	9	SSW-NNO	?	?			R*					1: B+S	1a
?	93	S-N	?	?				x				3: B	4
?	90	S-N	?	?							grüne Spuren	3: B	4
?	97	S-N	?	?							grüne Spuren	7: ?	4
?	94	S-N	?	?							grüne Spuren	Steine	4
?	98	S-N	?	?			S					zerstört	4
?	51	?	?	?		x	H		x			zerstört	1c

Alter	Nr.	Orient.	Seite	Gesch.	Dolch	Armring	Nadel	Pfriem	Halsring	Knochenring	Verschiedenes	Architektur	Gruppe
K1/2	66	N-S?	?	M?			S					1: B+S	3
K2	10	N-S	L	?	3							2: B+S	1a
K2	11	N-S	L	?								1: B+S	1a
K	22	N-S	?	?	3							1: B+S	1a
a	73	N-S	L	M	5	x					Ring Ag, 7 Spiralen, Perle	2: B+S	3
a	77	NNO-SSW	L	?	5L	x				x		1: B+S	4
a	75	N-S	L	?	3		S				2 Perlen Bz/Ton	2: B+S	3
a	63	NNO-SSW	L	M	4L		?				14 Tutuli	Steinkiste	2b
a	69	NNO-SSW	L	M?	5L							2: B+S	3
a	18	NNO-SSW	L	M?	3							1: B+S	1a
a(+K1?)	79	N-S	L	?			H					3: B	4
a	101	NNO-SSW	L	M								4: B+S	5
a	25	NNO-SSW	?	M								7: Steine	1b
m	68	NNO-SSW	L	M						x		2: B+S	3
m	55	NO-SW	L	M								6: B	2a
m	44	NO-SW?	?	M?								7: B+S	1c
s	67	NNO-SSW	L	M	A							1: B+S	3
s	76	N-S	L	M	A							2: B+S	3
s	70	N-S	L	M						x		6: B+S	3
?	36	NNO-SSW	?	?	3							Steine	1b
?	85	NNW-SSO	?	?		x						4: B+S	4
?	95	N-S	?	?	3L							3: B	4
?	84	N-S	?	?	A							1: B+S	4
?	33	N-S	L	?	5L							1: B+S	1b
?	72	N-S	L	?								7: B+S	3
?	60	?	?	?	A		S				5 Spiralröllchen	Steinkiste	2b

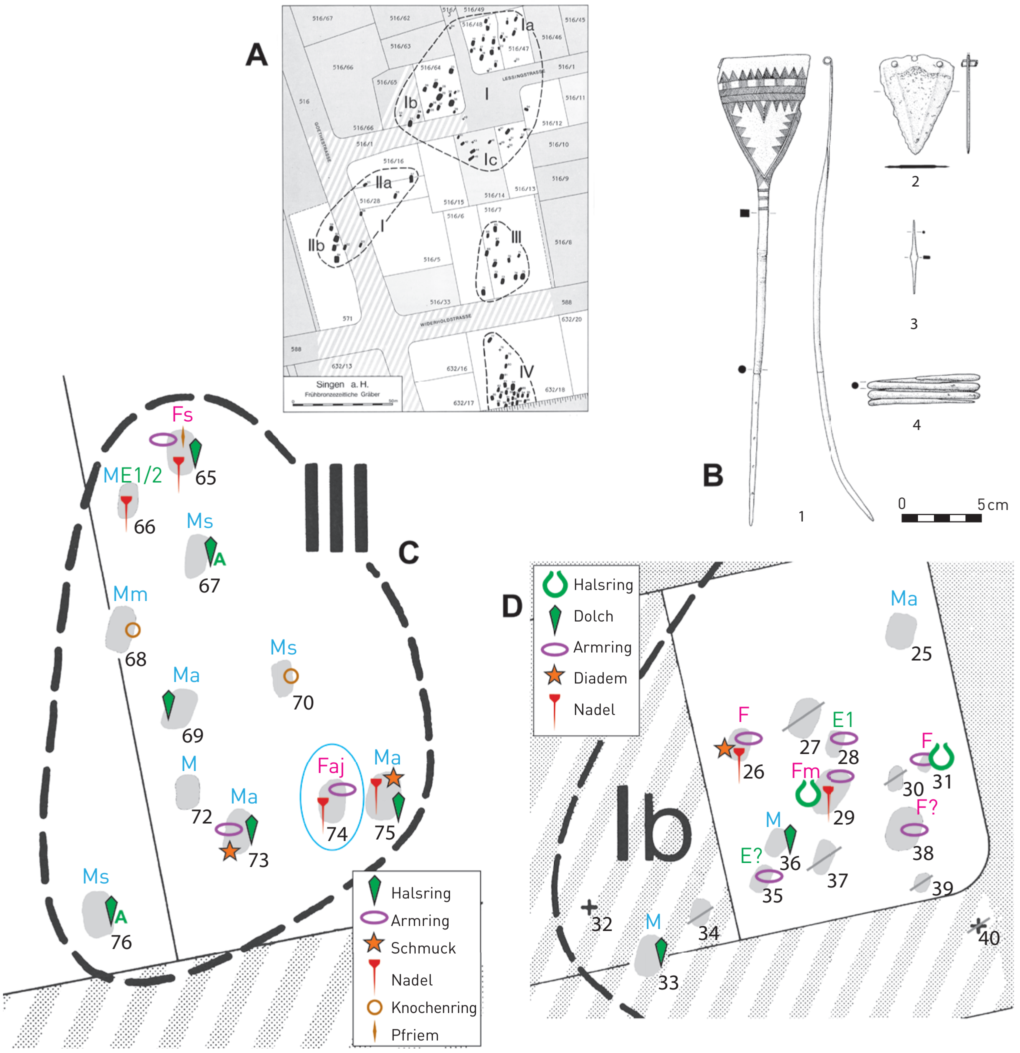
A
Ia
Ib
Ic
I
IIa
IIb
III
IV
Singen a. H.
Frühbronzezeitliche Gräber
B
1
2
3
4
0
5 cm
C
III
Fs
65
ME1/2
66
Ms
67
Mm
68
Ma
69
Ms
70
M
72
Ma
73
Faj
74
Ma
75
Ms
76
A
A
Halsring
Armring
Schmuck
Nadel
Knochenring
Pfriem
D
Halsring
Dolch
Armring
Diadem
Nadel
Ib
Ma
25
F
26
27
E1
28
Fm
29
30
F
31
32
M
33
34
E?
35
M
36
37
F?
38
39
40

Abb. 4. Singen – Am Hohentwiel (Kr. Konstanz, D). A: Gräberfeldplan. B: Beigaben des Frauengrabs 65 von der Gruppe III. C: Plan der Gruppe III. D: Plan der Gruppe Ib (F: weiblich, M: männlich, a: Erwachsene >20 Jahre; aj: Erwachsene 18–25 Jahre; m: Erwachsene 40–60 Jahre; s: Erwachsene >60 Jahre; E: Kind; E1: Kind 0–6 Jahre; E2: Kind 7–12 Jahre; äußere Kreis: bemerkenswertes Grab, schräger Strich: Grab ohne Knochen und ohne Bei-gaben) (nach Krause 1988).

drei Männergräber – darunter zwei mit Dolch – und mindestens zwei Kindergräber mit Armring. Sechs weitere Gräber in unmittelbarer Nähe haben weder Menschenknochen noch Beigaben erbracht.

Gruppe III

Die Gruppe III ist bemerkenswert, denn sie umfasst elf Gräber[6], von denen jedoch nur zwei Frauengräber sind. Das weibliche Individuum in Grab 74, das eine Nadel und einen Armring trug, war in entgegengesetzter Richtung, also in der gleichen Position wie ein Mann, zur ewigen Ruhe gebettet worden. Alle diese Gräber besitzen mehr oder weniger bedeutsame Steineinbauten und enthielten – mit Ausnahme des Männergrabs 72 – allesamt Beigaben. Die Zusammensetzung nach Altersklassen ist bemerkenswert. Die Gruppe III

[6] Das Grab 71 gehört wahrscheinlich in die Urnenfelderzeit (Krause 1988, 35)

vereint ein Kind im Alter von 6 bis 7 Jahre, eine junge Frau aus Grab 74, drei erwachsene Männer, einen älteren Mann und vier senile Menschen, darunter die Frau aus Grab 65, die die älteste Frau der gesamten Nekropole ist. Ihre Grabausstattung ist außergewöhnlich, da sie eine große verzierte Rudernadel, einen Armring, einen Pfriem und einen Dolch umfassen.

Die sechs Dolche, die auf dieser begrenzten Fläche des Gräberfeldes entdeckt wurden, gehören zu verschiedenen Typen: zwei zum atlantischen Typ mit einer zinnreichen Oberfläche, zwei zum verzierten Typ mit fünf Nieten, darunter eine lange Klinge (Grab 69), und zwei zum kleinen Typ mit drei Nieten, darunter die Dolchklinge aus Frauengrab 65. Die Überrepräsentation der älteren, gut ausgestatteten Menschen und die bemerkenswerte Grabarchitektur müssen betont werden.

Ernährung

Die Isotopenanalysen von Kohlen- und Stickstoff zeigen, dass es keine signifikanten Unterschiede in der Nahrung weder zwischen Frauen und Männern allgemein noch zwischen den Individuen mit unterschiedlich reicher Beigabenausstattung gibt. Stattdessen lässt sich eine interessante Korrelation zwischen der Altersklasse und dem Fleischverzehr feststellen. Eine Erhöhung des Fleischverzehrs wurde mit wachsendem Alter festgestellt (Koch/Kupke 2012, 233, Abb. 6). Eine derartige Sonderstellung der älteren Individuen sieht man auch auf anderen Gräberfeldern wie beispielweise der weiter unten zu behandelnden Nekropole von Olmo, wo die Beigabenausstattung bei den Älteren am höchsten ist.

Schlussbemerkungen

Signifikante Unterschiede zwischen Frauen und Männern können im Bau oder der Lage der Gräber in Singen nicht festgestellt werden. Die Frauen sind eher besser mit Beigaben ausgestattet als die Männer. Es muss jedoch betont werden, dass in Singen zweimal mehr ältere (matur + senil) Männer als ältere (matur + senil) Frauen entdeckt wurden. Und diese älteren Menschen waren hochwertiger ernährt.

Prag – Miškovice (CZ)

Weitere Nekropolen wie diejenige von Prag–Miškovice in Böhmen ergänzen die Beobachtungen aus den obenerwähnten Nekropolen. Das Gräberfeld liegt am nordöstlichen Rand der Stadt Prag im breiten Tal der Vltava/Moldau und wurde zwischen 1999 und 2004 von Michal Ernée auf einer Fläche von 10 Hektar untersucht (Ernée et al. 2012; Ernée 2015). Es umfasst 39 Körpergräber sowie fünf „Gräber ohne Knochen" und besteht aus sechs Gräbergruppen unterschiedlicher Größe.

Gruppe A

Mit 21 Einzelgräbern, einem Doppelgrab (Gr. 41), einem möglichen Kenotaph (Gr. 28) und zwei leeren Grabgruben (Gr. 30 und 35) stellt die Gruppe A die größte Gräbergruppe der Nekropole dar (**Tab. 3** und **Abb. 5**). Sie gehört in die klassische Phase der Aunjetitzer Kultur (Bz A2a) und ist durch C14-Daten ungefähr zwischen 2000 und 1900 v. Chr. datiert[7].

Totenritual und Graborientierung

Alle Gräber sind Körperbestattungen. Die Analyse des Phosphatspiegels der Ausfüllungssedimente einiger Gräber erlaubte den Nachweis zweier unterschiedlicher Rituale. Beim ersten handelt es sich um Bestattungen der gesamten Leiche, während beim zweiten Typ nur Teile des Skelettes in die Erde gelangten. Zum letzteren Typ werden auch die symbolischen Gräber wie der Kenotaph gezählt. Das erstgenannte Ritual ist häufiger bei Erwachsenen, das zweite dominiert bei den Kindern.

Sowohl die weiblichen als auch die männlichen Skelette lagen in Hockerposition auf der rechten Seite mit dem Knopf im Süden – mit

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[7] Auch die frühe Variante der Kugelkopfnadel in Grab 27 ist wahrscheinlich BzA2a-zeitlich (vgl. Anm. 19).

Tab. 3. Prag - Miškovice (Prag, CZ). Liste der Gräber der Gruppe A (Alter: E1, Kind 0-5 Jahre; E2, Kind 6-13 Jahre; J, jugendliche 14-20 Jahre; a, Erwachsene >20 Jahre;m, Matur 40-60 Jahre; Seite: R, rechts, L, links; Geschlecht: F, weiblich, M, männlich; Gefäß: *, Spuren eines Inhalts; Haarsch.: Haarschmuck; Spiral.: Spiralröllchen; Bernstein: Zahl der Perlen, Sch., Bernsteinschieber; Architektur: Sarg, Holzsarg oder Holzkiste; S, Steineinbau (Ausmaß: S, SS, SSS); Arbeit: Arbeitsaufwand, ★, 0,2-1,2 Stunden, ★★, 2,3-6,9 Stunden, ★★★, 27-35 St.; Ritual: 1, „reguläre" Bestattung mit intaktem Körper, 2, Niederlegung von Skelettresten oder Kenotaph, N, keine Phosphatanalyse) (nach Ernée 2015).

Alter	Nr.	Seite	Gesch.	Gefäß	Beil	Dolch	Nadel	Haarsch.	Spiral.	Bernstein	Verschiedenes	Fauna	Architektur	Arbeit	Ritual	Paläopathologie
E1(0–2)	36	?	?										Pithos	/	2	
E1(3–5)	17	R	?							7			Sarg?+SS	/	2	
E1(5±2)	41b	?	M										ohne	★	2	
E1/2(5–7)	22	R	?										ohne	★	2	
E1/2(5–8)	25		F				Hülsenkopf						Sarg+SSS	★★	?	
E1/2(6–8)	43	L	?										ohne	/	1	
E2(7–8)	23		?										ohne	/	1	
E2(9–10)	34		F							1			Sarg?+S	★	2	*cribra orbitalia*: Anämie? Chronische Krankheit?
E2(10±2)	27	R	F				Kugelkopf						Sarg+SSS	★★★	N	*cribra orbitalia*: Anämie? Chronische Krankheit?
E(>5)	37	L?	?										ohne	/	2	
J(14–17)	19	R	F	Napf*			Ösenkopf	3	9-10	16	Tonscheibe		ohne	★	N	entzündliche Veränderung am Schlüsselbein
J(14–20)	18	R	F?	Napf*			Schleifenkopf	3	8-9	10	Meermuschel		ohne	★	?	
J/a(14–30)	20	R	M	Tasse*					4	2		Rind	Sarg	★★	1	
a(20–30)	26	R	F				Ringkopf		4	1			Sarg+S	★★	1	
a(20–30)	42	R	F	Napf			Lochhals	3	5-6	5	Knochenperle / Meermuschel	Rind	ohne	★	1	
a(30–50)	16		?		Beil	1					Steingeräte		Sarg+S	★★★	1	
a(>35)	33		?	Becher			Ösenkopf	2		38+Sch.		?	Sarg+S	★★	N	
a	24		F	Napf							Meermuschel		Sarg+SSS	/	N	
m(40–50)	21	R	F	Tasse			Ösenkopf	4	1-2	3			Sarg+S	★	1	*Hyperostosis frontalis interna*: endokrine Erkränkung
m(40–60)	31	R	M				Hülsenkopf						Sarg+S	★★	N	*foramen supratrochleare*: grosse physische Tätigkeit
m(40–60)	44		?				Scheibenkopf						Nachbestattung	/	N	
m(45–55)	41a	R	F	Napf				1-2					ohne	★	2	degenerative Veränderung der Weibel: grosse physische Belastung
m(50–60)	32	R	F?		Meißel	1	2x Ösenkopf			4			ohne	★★	1	
Kenotaph?	28												SSS	★★	2	
	30												leere Grabgrube	★	~2	
	35												leere Grabgrube	/	2	

Ausnahme von zwei Kindern auf der linken Seite (Gr. 43 und vielleicht Gr. 37).

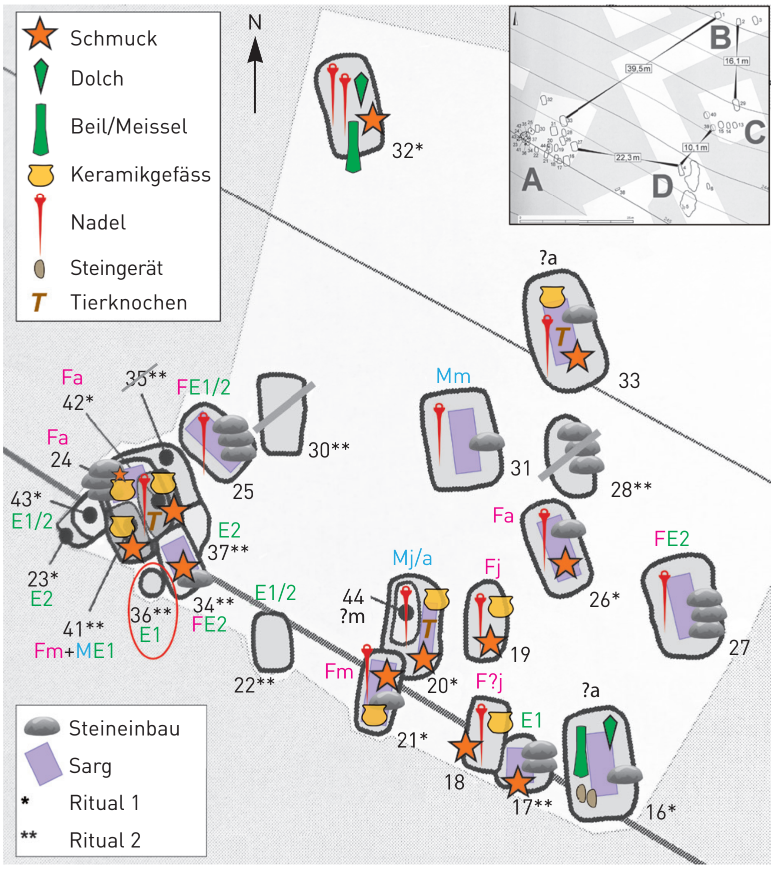

Abb. 5. Prag-Miškovice (Prag, CZ). Gräberfeldplan (oben) und Plan der Gruppe A (F: weiblich, M: männlich, a: Erwachsene >20 Jahre; m: Erwachsene >40 Jahre; j: Jugendliche 14-20 Jahre; E1: Kind 0-5 Jahre; E2: Kind 6-13 Jahre; Ovals: Pithos, schräger Strich: Grab ohne Knochen und ohne Beigaben) (Plan nach Ernée 2015, ergänzt).

Geschlecht und Altersklassen

In der Gruppe A ist die Verteilung auf die Geschlechter unausgewogen. Elf weiblichen stehen drei männliche und neun Individuen unbestimmten Geschlechtes gegenüber. Der schlechte Erhaltungszustand der Knochen erklärt den hohen Anteil unbestimmter Bestattungen. Das Geschlecht einiger Kinder konnte mit Hilfe der DNA-Analyse bestimmt werden.

Die Verteilung nach Altersklassen ist mit zehn Kindern, drei Jugendlichen – eher junge Erwachsene – und fünf Erwachsenen, unter denen sich zwei eher junge und fünf mature befinden, ausgeglichen. Mit einem Anteil von mehr als 50 % an Nichterwachsenen entspricht die Alterszusammensetzung dem, was man bei einer vorjennerzeitlichen Population erwarten darf.

Trotz des geringen Anteils männlicher Bestatteter gibt es keinen Grund an der Repräsentativität dieser Gruppe zu zweifeln. In den anderen Gräbergruppen der Nekropole ist der Anteil männlicher Bestattungen ebenfalls niedrig. Man könnte durchaus in Betracht ziehen, dass die Anzahl der Männer innerhalb der Gemeinschaft in einer bestimmten Periode reduziert gewesen sein könnte, und zwar aus ganz unterschiedlichen Gründen, wie zum Beispiel gewaltsamen Konflikten.

Die Frauen- und Männergräber und auch die Kindergräber liegen gemischt auf dem Gräberfeld, wobei einige Untergruppen durchaus an Familiengruppen denken lassen.

Grabarchitektur

Ein Kleinkind war in einem großen Tongefäß bestattet (Pithosbestattung) (Gr. 36). Die übrigen Toten waren in *„freier Erde"* – dies war häufiger bei Nichterwachsenen der Fall – oder in Särgen bzw. Kisten aus Holz innerhalb einer mehr oder weniger komplexen Steinsetzung bestattet.

Der beim Bau anfallende Arbeitsaufwand wurde von Ernée für jedes Grab unter Berücksichtigung der Grubentiefe und der Steineinbauten berechnet. Dabei zeigte sich, dass in der Mehrheit der Fälle weniger als sechs Stunden, also weniger als ein durchschnittlicher heutiger Arbeitstag notwendig war.

Zwei Gräber unterscheiden sich von den übrigen jedoch durch einen aufwendigeren Steinbau. Das imposanteste ist Grab 16, das einen Erwachsenen anthropologisch unbestimmbaren Geschlechts enthielt, dessen Beigaben eher auf eine männliche Bestattung hinweisen. Der Zeitaufwand zum Bau dieses Grabes wurde auf etwa 35 Stunden geschätzt. Das zweite der beiden aufwendiger gebauten Gräber (Gr. 27) barg die Körperbestattung eines acht- bis zwölfjährigen Mädchens, das an einer chronischen Krankheit oder an Anämie litt; *cribra orbitalia* wurde nachgewiesen. Als Beigabe enthielt sie die einzige Kugelkopfnadel des Gräberfeldes, und zwar eine frühe, nach BzA2a zu datierende Ausprägung dieses Typs (zu frühen Kugelkopfnadeln (BzA2a

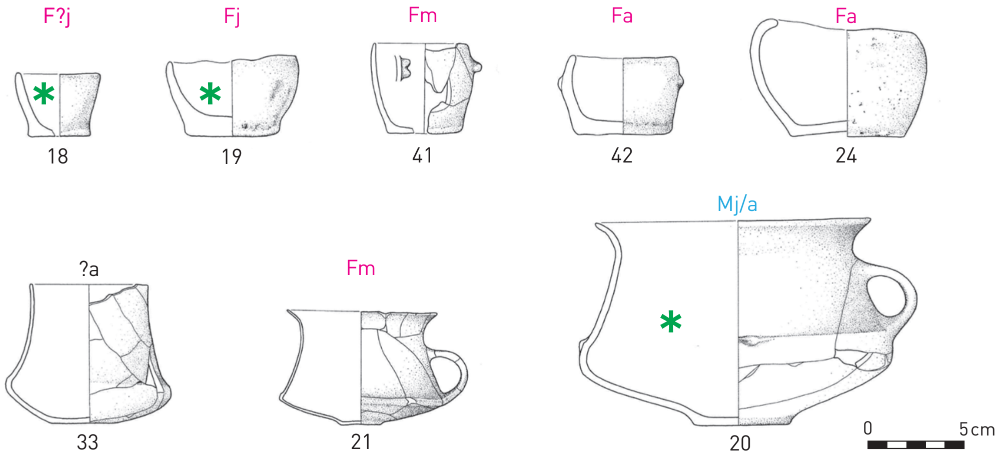

Abb. 6 Prag - Miškovice (Prag, CZ). Keramikgefässe aus den Gräbern der Gruppe A (nach Ernée 2015).

jünger) David 1998, 113, 117–118; David 2002, Taf. 245,1; 246,1; 284,1; 285,1.6; 286,1.4–5). Für den Bau des Grabes wurden etwa 27 Arbeitsstunden veranschlagt.

Beigaben

Jugendliche und Erwachsene sind immer mit Beigaben ausgestattet, während sie bei Kindern selten sind. Zwei Mädchengräber (Gr. 25 und 27) beinhalteten jeweils eine Nadel, während aus einem dritten (Gr. 34) eine Bernsteinperle stammt. Sieben Bernsteinperlen wurden im Grab eines Kleinkindes (drei bis fünf Jahre alt) entdeckt.

Bei den Erwachsenen einschließlich der jugendlichen Individuen wurde fast immer Trachtschmuck, und zwar in Gestalt von Haarringen, Spiralröllchen, Bernsteinperlen, Meeresmuscheln oder Nadeln gefunden. Während Bernsteinperlen und Spiralröllchen in geringer Zahl auch in Männergrab 20 vorkommen, scheinen Haarringe hingegen ein exklusives Kennzeichen erwachsener Frauen zu sein. Im Männergrab 31 fand sich lediglich eine Nadel. Das einzige Grab ganz ohne Schmuck und ohne Nadeln ist das oben bereits erwähnte Grab 16.

Ein Tongefäß fand sich in acht Gräbern von Juvenilen und Erwachsenen, und zwar abgesehen von einer einzigen männlichen Bestattung ausschließlich in Frauengräbern. Es handelt sich dabei immer um ein kleines Gefäß – um einen Napf, eine kleine Tasse oder einen Becher. Allein in dem einzigen Männergrab 20 fand sich eine Tasse, die doppelt so groß wie die anderen übrigen Gefäße ist (**Abb. 6**). Diese Tasse enthielt zwei Zehenglieder eines Rindes. Eine weitere Deponierung von Tierresten wurde in Frauengrab 42 beobachtet, wohingegen der Nachweis einer möglichen dritten in Grab 33, welches wegen des reichen Bernsteinschmuckes eher weiblich ist, unsicher bleibt. Die Phosphatanalysen zeigen ferner, dass die kleinen Gefäße in den Gräbern 18 und 19 etwas Besonderes enthalten hatten.

Außer dem sicherlich zur Tracht gehörenden Schmuck und der Keramik gibt es kaum andere Gegenstände in den Gräbern. Das bemerkenswerte Grab 16 beinhaltet ein Beil und einen kleinen Dolch aus Metall sowie zwei Steingeräte. Wie oben bereits erwähnt sind diese Beigaben eher männlichen Charakters und das Grab 16 stellt die komplexeste Struktur in diesem Teilbereich der Nekropole dar.

Auch noch ein weiteres Grab ist erwähnenswert. Es handelt sich um das Grab 32, das abseits von den übrigen lag (Abb. 5 und **Abb. 7**). Es enthielt das älteste Individuum der Gruppe A, und zwar sehr wahrscheinlich eine Frau. Es handelt sich um das einzige Grab mit einem Paar Nadeln. Ferner gehören vier Bernsteinperlen sowie ein Dolch, der länger als der aus Grab 16 ist, sowie ein Meißel zum Inventar von Grab 32. Obwohl die anthropologische Bestimmung des Geschlechtes nicht ganz sicher ist[8], gibt es keinen Grund daran zu zweifeln, dass ein Teil der Beigaben eher zur Tracht einer Frau gehört. Obwohl der Meißel als Waffe zu interpretieren ist (David 2014, 190 Abb. 3,10; 191 Abb. 4,10; 195–196), erscheint es grundsätzlich denkbar, dass Frauen auch Männertätigkeiten übernahmen, wenn nicht ausreichend Männer da waren. Es sei in diesem Zusammenhang daran erinnert, dass erst kürzlich innerhalb der Aunjetitzer Kultur Niederösterreichs ein Frauengrab mit metallurgischem Werkzeug geborgen wurde (Lauermann/Pany-Kucera 2013).

Paläopathologie

Die paläopathologische Untersuchung ergab keine erheblichen Unterschiede im Gesundheitszustand zwischen den seltenen männlichen und den weiblichen Bestattungen. Zwei mature Menschen scheinen mühsame körperliche Aufgaben ausgeführt zu haben, die morphologische Änderungen am Skelett zur Folge hatten. Es handelt sich um eine Frau (Gr. 41a) und einen Mann (Gr. 31), die beide nur wenige Beigaben mitbekamen.

Schlussbemerkung

Bemerkenswert sind die geringe Anzahl der Männergräber und die Beigaben des Frauengrabs 32.

Gazzo Veronese–Valserà (Prov. Verona, I)

Die Nekropole von Gazzo Veronese–Valserà liegt nördlich des Po in dessen Ebene und wurde 1997 und 2000–2001 von Luciano Salzani ausgegraben (Salzani 2001; de Marinis/Valzolgher 2013, 548–549). Elf frühbronzezeitliche Gräber der BA II (= Bz A2b) wurden in schlechtem Zustand angetroffen. Die Gräber 10 und 11 verdienen besondere Erwähnung, weil sie jeweils eine kleine Goldspirale enthielten. Obwohl die Form eine andere ist, erinnern sie an die goldenen „Schläfen- oder Lockenringe“, die ein Kennzeichen hochgestellter Männer im oberen und mittleren Do-

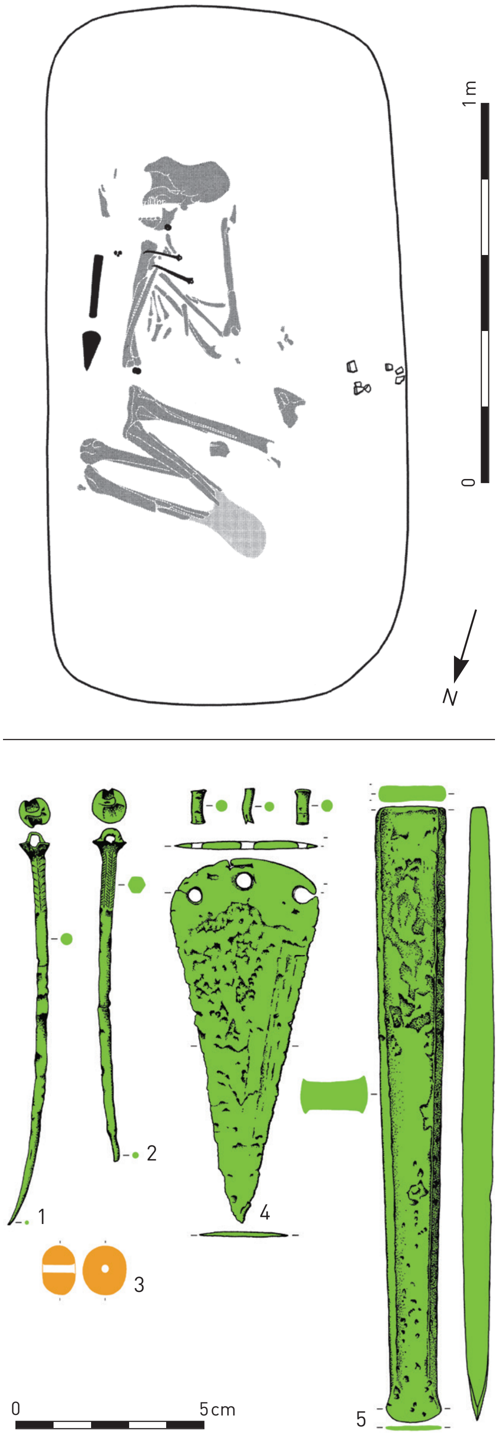

Abb. 7. Prag - Miškovice (Prag, CZ). Grab 32. Oben der Grabplan, unten die Beigaben (nach Ernée 2015).

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[8] Physische Anthropologie = Frau / DNA-Bestimmung = weiblich? / Sterbealter: 50–60 Jh. alt (Ernée 2015).

nauraum und darüber hinaus sind (David 1998, 117; David 2002, 236; 310 mit Anm. 29–30; Taf. 247,2; 257,5; 273,5; 278,3–4; 279,3; 280,8–10; 281,5–6; 282,5; 283,3; 284,3; 333,9; 334,3–4; 349,2; 350,4). Die anthropologische Untersuchung bestätigt, dass die beiden Bestatteten erwachsene Männer waren. Derjenige in Grab 10 war 25 bis 30 Jahre alt. So ergänzen diese Gräber, die jünger als die oben erwähnten norditalienischen Nekropolen von Asola und Arona sind, das gesellschaftliche Bild.

Die *Fürsten* der nördlichen Aunjetitzerkultur und ihre „*Sklaven*“?

Um die sozialen Ungleichheiten beurteilen zu versuchen, ist es besonders wichtig, große Teile von Nekropolen und entsprechend statistisch signifikante Analysen zur Verfügung zu haben. Nur so kann die Verteilung der Geschlechter innerhalb der Nekropole, die Komplexität des Grabbaus, sowie die Bedeutung und der Umfang der Beigabenausstattung beurteilt werden. Altfunde oder Einzelgräber eignen sich dafür kaum. Alles, was ohne gleichwertige Analogien ist, bleibt schwer zu interpretieren.

In der Frühbronzezeit sind jedoch auch herausragende Bestattungen bekannt, die sogenannten *Fürstengräber*, die man keineswegs außer Acht lassen darf, auch wenn sie meist nur zu kleinen Grablegen gehören oder gar Einzelgräber sind, was ihr Verständnis erschwert. Ein Prunkgrab braucht keineswegs zwangsläufig auf einen „König“ oder „Fürsten“ hinzuweisen, sondern es kann genauso gut die Bestattung eines reichen, geltungsbedürftigen Händlers, Handwerkers oder Bauern sein (Kossack 1974). Dies könnte auch für die berühmten Hügelgräber der Aunjetitzer Kultur mit exponentieller und zuweilen goldreicher Grabausstattung wie Helmsdorf (Kr. Mansfelder Land, D), Leubingen (Kr. Sömmerda, D), und Łęki Małe (Łódź, PL) gelten (mit älterer Literatur David 2002, 457–458 [D 3, 6, 7]; 476 [PL 13]; Taf. 278–281), obwohl hier die Lage und die Häufigkeit – ungefähr 55 Aunjetitzer Hügelgräber sind bekannt (Pokutta et al. 2015, 116) – es glaubwürdiger erscheinen lassen, dass es sich tatsächlich um (hochrangige) Eliten handelt. Zu betonen ist jedoch, dass es sich offensichtlich fast nur um Männer[9] handelt und dass diese Eliten archäologisch nur über eine begrenzte Zeit und in einem begrenztes Gebiet nachweisbar sind, dass sie demnach nicht den Auftakt zur Etablierung einer dauerhaften hierarchischen Gesellschaft bildeten, sondern ohne direkte Nachfolger blieben.

Der Fürst von Kąty Wrocławskie

Die Ergebnisse der bioarchäologischen Untersuchung eines Aunjetitzer „Fürsten“ von Kąty Wrocławskie (Kanth, PL) (Pokutta et al. 2015) sind überaus lehrreich, weil sie ein unerwartetes Bild zeigen. Das in einem Hügel vom 17 m Durchmesser und 2.20 m Höhe entdeckte Individuum wahrscheinlich männlichen Geschlechts war im mittleren Alter verstorben (~55 Jahre alt). Zu Lebzeiten litt er an verschiedenen Pathologien – die poröse Hyperostose des Schädels (*cribra orbitalia*) – weist vermutlich auf Mangelernährung und vielleicht auf die Zeit einer Hungersnot hin. Gegen Ende seines Lebens scheint er sich jedoch abwechslungsreich und vielfältig mit einer bedeutsamen Zufuhr von Fleisch ernährt zu haben. Dem widerspricht das „glatte“ Bild des „Fürsten von Helmsdorf“, das aufgrund der Analyse der Knochenuntersuchung gezeichnet wurde. Der sehr schlechte Erhaltungszustand der Knochen lässt jedoch Zweifel an den Schlussfolgerungen aufkommen (Knipper et al. 2015, 581–582).

Der junge „Sklave“ von Bruszczewo

Während diese prestigeträchtigen Aunjetitzer „Fürstengräber“ bereits seit mehr als einem Jahrhundert die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher fesseln, tritt der entgegengesetzte Aspekt der damaligen Realität erst dank der modernen Ausgrabungstechniken der letzten Jahre deutlicher hervor. Im Zusammenhang mit der Entdeckung des Grabs eines jungen, zwischen 18 und 24 Jahren alten Mannes in der befestigten Siedlung von Bruszczewo (Leszno, PL), etwa fünfzehn Kilometer in Luftlinie von der „fürstlichen" Hügelnekropole von Łęki Małe entfernt, kann es einem geradezu kalt den Rücken herunterlaufen (Kneisel 2010; Iwanek et al. 2010; Jaeger 2012). Der Tote, datiert um 1870–1770 BC nach C14, lag nicht auf einem Gräberfeld, sondern nahe einem Haus in der Siedlung. Zusammen mit zwei Steinhämmern, einer großen Scherbe Grobkeramik und einer Kornbeigabe war er in einer Matte eingewickelt. Der Unglückliche litt als Kind an Anämie und wurde infolge der sehr schweren physischen Arbeit, der er seit Kindheit und Jugend unterworfen war – dem Tragen von schweren Lasten, vielleicht im Zusammenhang mit dem Bau der Befestigung – zum körperlich Behinderten. Hier handelt es sich nicht um die Frage der Ungleichheit zwischen Frauen und Männer, sondern um den Status, was zu einem besseren Verständnis unseres Themas beiträgt.

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[9] Die Skelette von Helmsdorf und Łęki Małe sind geschlechtlich nicht bestimmbar (Laabs 2014); aus Szczepankowice Hügel IB (Schönbankwitz, PL) stammt auch eine Frau (Pokutta et al. 2015, 14).

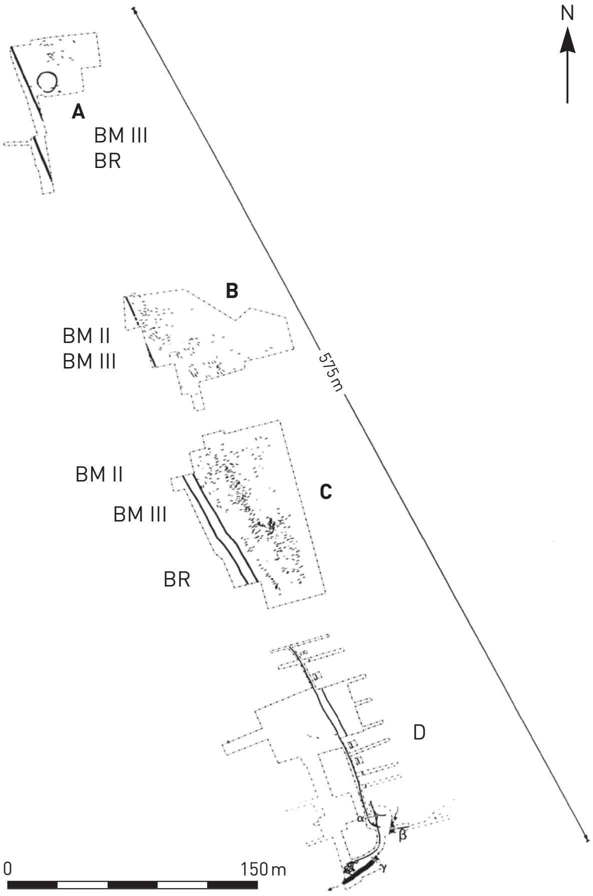

Abb. 8 Nogara – Olmo (Prov. Verona, I). Plan der Nekropole (nach Salzani 2005). In der Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit ist die Nekropole in drei Gräbergruppen (A, B, C) verteilt und drei Phasen sind zu erkennen: BM II (Mittelbronzezeit II), BM III (Mittelbronzezeit III) und BR (Spätbronzezeit). Die Entwicklungsphasen dauern ungefähr 250 Jahre.

SOZIALE UNGLEICHHEIT IN NORDITALIENISCHEN NEKROPOLEN DER MITTEL- UND SPÄTBRONZEZEIT

Mit der Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit ändert sich die Situation in Norditalien. Für diese Zeit steht eine Reihe wichtiger Nekropolen zur Erörterung unseres Themas zur Verfügung: Brandgräbernekropolen in Nordostitalien sowie nördlich und südlich des Po, birituelle Nekropolen in der Gegend von Verona sowie eine Hügelgräbernekropole im Trentino (David-Elbiali 2010, Abb. 1, Tab. I).

Nogara – Olmo (Prov. Verona, I)

Besonders aufschlussreich ist die Nekropole von Olmo im Stadtgebiet von Nogara (Verona, I). Denn sie ist groß, Körperbestattung dominiert und die Beigaben sind beachtlich, was alles zusammen die besten Voraussetzungen für eine Gräberfeldanalyse bietet. Die Nekropole liegt im Norden der Po-Ebene am Westufer des kleinen Flusses Tartaro. Zwischen 1987 und 2002 führte Salzani dort mehrere archäologische Ausgrabungen durch. 456 Körper- und 61 Brandgräber wurden entdeckt und publiziert (Salzani 2005; Capitanio/Corrain 1996–97). Die meisten Gräber gehören in die Mittel- (BM II – BM III = BzB jünger – BzC) und Spätbronzezeit (BR = BzD). Das bronzezeitliche Gräberfeld besteht aus drei Zonen (A, B und C), die durch zerstörte Bereiche voneinander getrennt sind (**Abb. 8**). Die Nekropole erstreckt sich auf einer Fläche von ungefähr 1.5 ha und wird im Westen von einem bronzezeitlichen Weg begrenzt. Ende

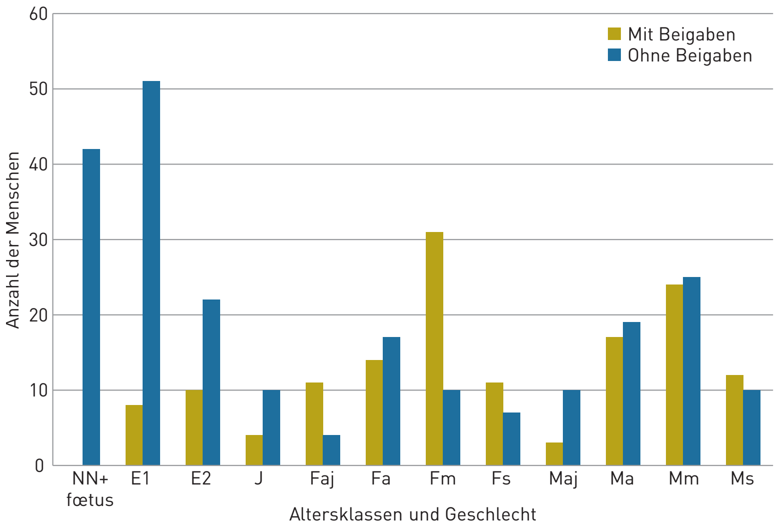

Abb. 9. Nogara – Olmo (Prov. Verona, I). Verteilung der Beigaben nach Altersklassen und Geschlecht (NN/Foetus: Neugeborene und Föten; E1: Kinder 1–6 Jahre; E2: Kinder 7–12 Jahre; J: junge Menschen 12–18 Jahre; Faj: junge Frauen 18–25 Jahre; Fa: erwachsene Frauen >18 Jahre; Fm: ältere Frauen 40–60 Jahre; Fs: alte Frauen >60 Jahre; Maj: junge Männer 18–2 Jahre; Ma: erwachsene Männer >18 Jahre; Mm: ältere Männer 40–60 Jahre; Ms: alte Männer >60 Jahre).

2009 kamen zehn weitere Gräber (BM III – BR = BzC – BzD) an der nordwestlichen Ecke der Zone C zutage: ein Männergrab mit Schwert, drei Frauengräber mit Schmuck und sechs Gräber ohne Beigaben – zwei Männer, drei Juvenile und ein Kind (Salzani et al. 2016).

Totenritual

372 Körpergräber und 60 Brandbestattungen sind für die Analyse verwertbar[10] (**Abb. 9**). In der Mittelbronzezeit dominiert die Körperbeerdigung. Beigaben sind häufig (ungefähr in 40 % der Gräber) und die Ausstattungsregeln sind sehr streng und eindeutig mit dem Geschlecht und den Altersklassen verknüpft.

Während der Spätbronzezeit (*Bronzo recente* = BzD) wird die Brandbestattung vorherrschend und Beigaben werden selten. Diese

Tab. 4. Nogara – Olmo (Prov. Verona, I). Tabelle der Männergräber nach Altersklassen und die entsprechenden Beigaben (S: Schwert, D: Dolch, H: Helm, T: Tasse).

Altersklassen												
Funde	Schwert	Dolch	"Helm"	Tasse	S+D	S+H	S+T	S+D+H	S+D+T	S+H+T	S+D+H+T	Keine
Aj (18–25 Jahre)	2											10
	←	1										
A (25–40 Jahre)	9											23
			1									
					2							
										1		
											1	
Am (40–60 Jahre)	7											26
			1									
				1								
					3							
						8						
							1					
								1				
									1			
											1	
As (>60 Jahre)	1											12
			1									
					1							
						1						
							1					
								1				
											1	

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[10] (David-Elbiali 2010, 2011, 2012). Für die Körpergräber wurden in der Analyse nur diejenigen berücksichtigt, die im Bereich des Oberkörpers keine Störung zeigen, weil die Beigaben immer im Oberkörperbereich liegen. Diese Voraussetzung erklärt die unterschiedlichen Prozentsätze der Gräber mit Beigaben im Vergleich zu anderen Analysen dieser Nekropole (z.B. de Angelis in Salzani 2005, 449–487). Die zehn Gräber von 2009 blieben außerhalb der Betrachtung.

Veränderung ist auch in mehreren anderen Nekropolen festzustellen. In Nogara enthielten nur drei (5 %) der insgesamt 60 Brandgräber der Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit Beigaben.

Grabarchitektur

Die Gräber der Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit befinden sich in Gruben ohne spezielle Einrichtung. Und obwohl die reichsten Gräber tatsächlich eine große Grube besitzen, spielt der Grabbau offenbar keine besondere Rolle bei der sozialen Differenzierung, weil die Größe der Grabgrube auch von der Körpergröße der Bestatteten abhängt (David-Elbiali 2010, 212–213).

Beigaben der Männer

Die Beigaben der Männer bestehen aus Schwert, Dolch, einer Tasse – vermutlich für Libationen – und Metallnägelchen, die möglicherweise von einem Helm stammen[11] (**Tab. 4** und **Abb. 10**). Jeder Typ der obenerwähnten Beigaben kann mit Ausnahme des Dolches auch allein ins Grab gelangen. So steht der lange Dolch, der als einzige Beigabe im Grab eines jungen Mannes (Gr. 168) entdeckt wurde, den Schwertern näher als den üblichen Dolchen. Objektkombinationen sind belegt, wobei das Schwert welches mit 43 Exemplaren die häufigste Beigabe in Männergräbern ist, bei diesen niemals fehlt (seit 2009 sind es sogar 44 Schwerter). Schwerter erscheinen in Gräbern junger Erwachsener ungefähr ab dem 20. Lebensjahr, der „*Helm*“ und die Tasse erst später bei voll Erwachsenen im Alter von 25–30 Jahren. Alle drei Gegenstandstypen zusammen finden sich in einigen Gräbern von Männern bis ins senile Alter.

Die Gräber mit Schwertbeigabe gehören alle in die Mittelbronzezeit, mit Ausnahme von Grab 41, das von der Form des Schwertes her in die Spätbronzezeit datiert.

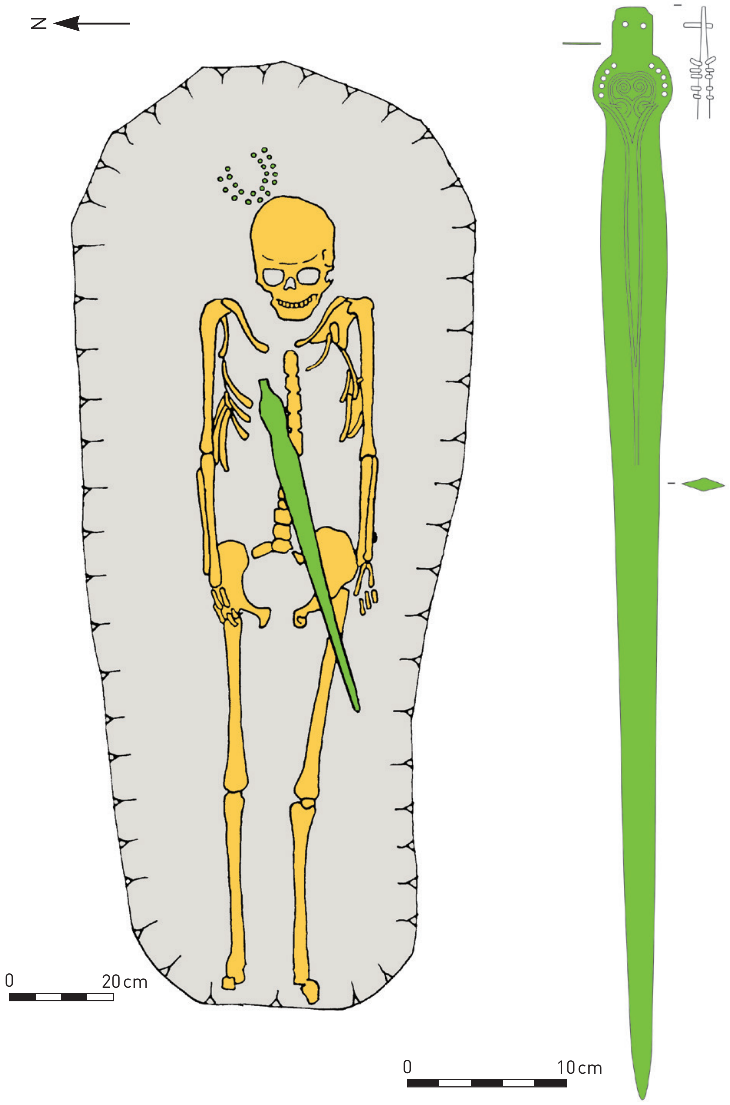

Abb. 10. Nogara – Olmo (Prov. Verona, I). Männergrab 31 mit Schwert und "Helm" (nach Salzani 2005).

Der Dolch kommt durch alle Altersklassen hinweg nur in manchen Fällen zusammen mit dem Schwert vor. Der aufgrund der Metallnägelchen vermutete „*Helm*“ erscheint am häufigsten bei Männern mittleren Alters. Die Tasse ist selten und vor allem in den Gräbern älterer Männer zu finden. Nur ein Grab pro Altersklasse enthält alle vier bedeutenden Kategorien gemeinsam. Die jüngsten Männer, nämlich die der Altersgruppe 18 bis 25 Jahre, sind diejenigen, die am seltensten mit Beigaben ausgestattet sind. Hingegen enthielt ungefähr die Hälfte der Bestattungen maturer und seniler Männer Beigaben[12].

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[11] Ab jetzt als „*Helm*“ beschrieben, obwohl die Funktion dieser Nägelchen nicht eindeutig geklärt ist.

[12] Die späten Gräber der Zone C2 sind nicht einbezogen.

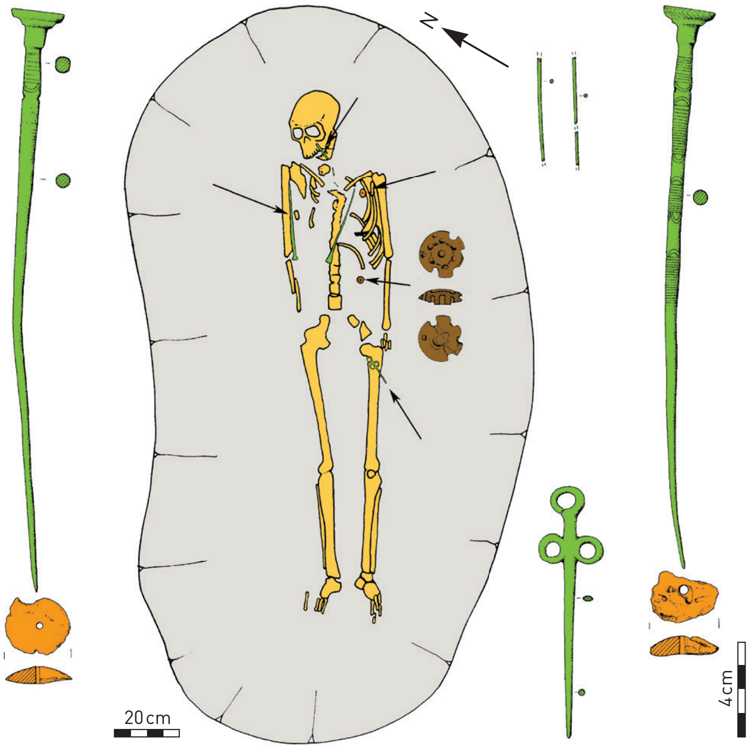

Abb. 11. Nogara – Olmo (Prov. Verona, I). Frauengrab 112 mit Gewandnadelpaar und Bernsteinscheibenverschluss, dritter Gewandnadel, dünnen Nadelstücken und verzierter Knochenscheibe (nach Salzani 2005).

Tab. 5. Nogara – Olmo (Prov. Verona, I). Tabelle der Gliederung der Frauenbeigaben.

1	Nadelpaar	3er Nadel	mit/ohne Bernsteinverschluss	mit/ohne Sonstige
2	Nadelpaar		mit/ohne Bernsteinverschluss	mit/ohne Sonstige
3	Nadel			mit/ohne Sonstige
4				Sonstige
5	Keine Beigaben			

Tab. 6. Nogara – Olmo (Prov. Verona, I). Tabelle der vermuteten Knabengräber nach Altersklassen und die entsprechenden Beigaben (K1: Kinder 0–6 Jahre alt; K2: Kinder 6–12 Jahre alt; J: 12–18 Jahre alt; Z: teilweise zerstörtes Grab).

Altersklassen	Nr.	Dolch	Tasse	Sonstige	Chrono	Gruppe
K1 (4–5 Jahre)	403	1			BR	B
K1 (4–5 Jahre)	470		1		BM3	B
K2 (6–7 Jahre)	228/Z	1		2 Geweihscheiben	BR	C2
K2 (?)	497	1			BM2	B
K2 (7 Jahre)	6/Z		1		BM3	A
J (13–18 Jahre)	-	-	-	-	-	

Beigaben der Frauen

Bei den Frauen bestehen die Beigaben ausschließlich aus Schmuck und können in vier Gruppen gegliedert werden: 1. ein Nadelpaar mit einer dritten Nadel; 2. ein Nadelpaar; 3. einzelne Nadel – diese drei Kombinationen kommen entweder mit oder ohne Bernsteinscheibenverschluss und weiteren Objekten vor; 4. die vierte Kombination umfaßt ausschließlich weitere Objekte, das heißt eine dünne Nadel, Haarringe, Perlen, einen Geweihkamm, usw. (**Tab. 5** und **Abb. 11**).

Die komplette Ausstattung kommt ab einem Todesalter von 20 Jahren vor. Fast 55 % der über 18-jährigen Frauen erhielten Beigaben. In dieser Altersklasse sind die jungen Erwachsenen diejenigen, die am besten ausgestattet sind. In der Altersgruppe der maturen Frauen bekommen 75 % Beigaben, von den senilen Frauen nur noch 60 %. Im Unterschied zu den Männern ist bei den Frauen keine Entwicklung der Beigaben in Abhängigkeit zum Alter erkennbar: bereits einige der jungen Frauen (18–25 Jahre alt) erhielten eine komplette Ausstattung, die in gleicher Weise bei den älteren Frauen auftritt. Grundsätzlich erhielten Frauen häufiger als die Männer eine Grabausstattung.

Beigaben der Kinder

Bei Kindern wurde niemals eine komplette Ausstattung wie bei den Erwachsenen festgestellt. Föten und Neugeborene blieben ohne Beigaben. Von den zwischen einem und sechs Jahre alten Kindern bekamen nur 10 % Beigaben und von den sechs- bis achtzehnjährigen nur ein Viertel. Die Objekte entsprechen meistens dem Inventar der Erwachsenengräber, aber es gibt auch einige für Kindergräber spezifische Objekte.

Das Geschlecht der Kinder kann zwar nur vermutet werden, doch dürften die Gräber mit für Männer typischen Beigaben, die sehr selten sind, wahrscheinlich diejenigen von Knaben sein. Drei Kinder, zwischen vier und sieben Jahren alt, erhielten einen Dolch mit ins Grab, zwei andere eine Tasse (**Tab. 6**). Dabei unterscheiden sich die Dolche und Tassen morphologisch von denjenigen der erwachsenen Männer. Zudem datieren zwei der Gräber mit Dolchbeigabe in die Spätbronzezeit, in eine Zeit, in der sich die Ausstattungsregeln auflösen. Hervorzuheben ist, dass ein dreizehn- bis achtzehnjähriger Juveniler typisch männliche Beigaben mitbekam (Gr. 168).

Im Gegensatz dazu ist weiblicher Schmuck in Kindergräbern häufiger, wenn auch nie in der für weibliche Erwachsene typischen und „vollständigen" Zusammensetzung. In der Mittelbronzezeit erhielten Kleinkinder bis zu sechs Jahren keinen weiblichen Schmuck mit ins Grab, sondern nur Kinder ab sieben Jahren. In der Spätbronzezeit wird dies wieder anders. Geweihkämme und Knochenanhänger treten als Sonderbeigaben bei Kindern, und zwar wahrscheinlich bei Mädchen auf, weil die Kämme ansonsten ausschließlich mit weiblichem Schmuck vergesellschaftet sind und weil auch die anthropologischen Hinweise in dieselbe Richtung deuten. Während Kämme auch in drei Frauengräbern gefunden wurden – und zwar bei einer erwachsenen und zwei senilen Frauen – gelangten die Knochenanhänger ausschließlich in Kindergräber. Fünf fanden sich bei Kindern bis zu sechs Jahren, vier bei Kindern zwischen sieben und zwölf Jahren und ein einziger bei einem Juvenilen. Beide Gegenstandsformen sind aber sehr ähnlich und wurden viermal zusammen in einem Grab gefunden. Sie datieren in die Mittel- und die Spätbronzezeit.

Sonderbestattung einer Frau

Sehr interessant ist das Beispiel der Körperbestattung 411, die in einer sehr umfangreichen und tiefen Grube begraben war. Eine alte Frau (>60 Jh.) wurde mit weiblichem Schmuck, das heißt mit einem Paar Gewandnadeln mit Bernsteinscheibenverschluss, einer dritten Gewandnadel, zwei Ohrringen, einem kleinen Fragment einer feinen Nadel, zwei Bernsteinperlen, einem winzigen Stück einer Spiralperle und einem Kamm aus Geweih, sowie außerdem noch mit zwei „männlichen" Objekten, das heißt einem Dolch und einer Tasse, aufgefunden. Dabei werden Dolch und Tasse durch diejenigen Formen vertreten, die ausschließlich in Gräbern von Heranwachsenden und niemals in Gräbern von erwachsenen Männern zutage kamen (**Abb. 12**). Das Grab, das in die Mittelbronzezeit 3 datiert, lag in der Zone B am Rande einer Gruppe, die aus einem Dutzend Körpergräbern und drei Brandgräbern besteht.

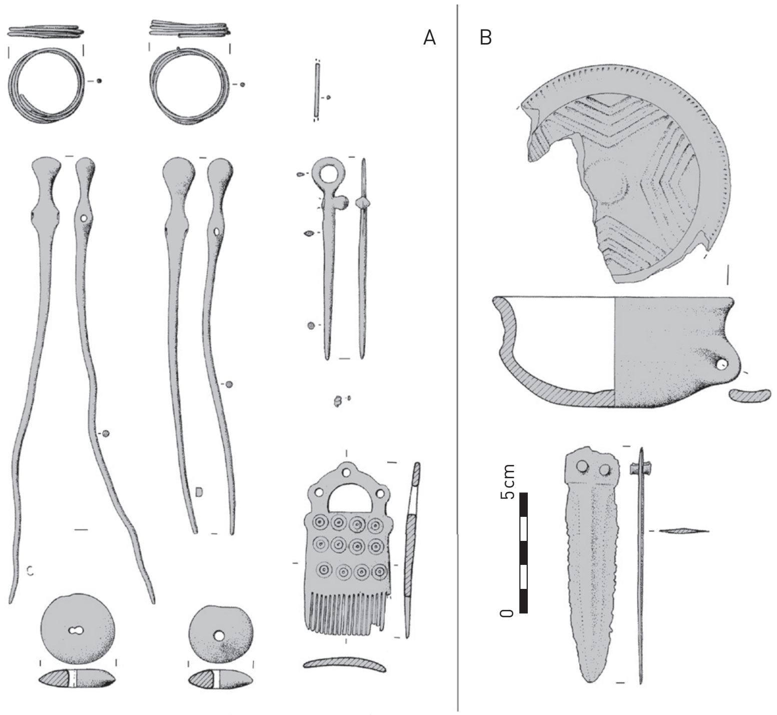

Abb. 12. Nogara – Olmo (Prov. Verona, I). Grab 411: A. Weiblich geprägte Beigaben; B. Männlich geprägte Beigaben (nach Salzani 2005).

Geschlechterrollen

Ein wichtiger Hinweis auf die Sozialorganisation aus der Perspektive der Gräber stellt die strikte Trennung zwischen den Geschlechtern dar. So enthielten Frauen- und Männergräber keine gemeinsamen Typen von Gegenständen, oder – mit anderen Worten – in Frauen und Männergräbern kommen jeweils andere Gegenstandstypen vor.

Die anthropologischen Untersuchungen erlaubten aufschlussreiche Beobachtungen: mehrere der Männer weisen Hieb- und Stichverletzungen durch Pfeilspitzen und Schwert auf, und ein Dutzend Frauen mit und ohne Beigaben zeigen degenerative Veränderungen der Wirbelsäule (Spondylose) (Canci et al. 2015; Pulcini et al. 2015). Das bedeutet, dass besagte Männer mit Gewalt konfrontiert waren, zu denen wahrscheinlich auch kriegerische Vorkommnisse gehörten, und dass die erwähnten Frauen schwere körperliche Tätigkeiten verrichteten. Die unterschiedlichen Geschlechterrollen werden auch durch den starken Geschlechtsdimorphismus bestätigt: die Männer sind deutlich kräftiger und der Größenunterschied ist beträchtlich: die Frauen messen durchschnittlich 152,8 cm, die Männer 164,1 cm[13].

Die Tracht manifestiert die soziale Stellung der Frauen. Diese ist unabhängig von ihrer Fruchtbarkeit, denn die älteren und senilen Frauen sind am häufigsten mit Beigaben ausgestattet. Was ideell hinter der Tracht steht, ist aber nur sehr schwer, wenn sogar überhaupt nicht zu erfassen.

Zusätzlich zu den obenerwähnten pathologischen Folgen schwerer körperlicher Arbeit weist die Frau aus Grab 422 eine Arthrose des Daumens auf, was von einer Tätigkeit als Weberin herrühren könnte. Waren die Frauen eventuell aktiv in der Produktion von Gütern – etwa in der Aufsicht oder Kontrolle der Produktion – und in deren Vertrieb tätig? Dies könnte den Wohlstand von vielen älteren Frauen erklären. Tatsächlich haben großflächige archäologische Siedlungsforschungen in San Rosa di Poviglio ergeben, dass zwischen Mittelbronzezeit 2 und *Bronzo recente* 2 (BzD) die Textilproduktion anstieg (Bernabò Brea et al. 2003, 120–121) und an Bedeutung gewann. Hierzu passt der Befund, dass ein ganzes Haus – und vielleicht gar noch ein zweites – offenbar ausschließlich für die Weberei errichtet worden waren (Bernabò Brea et al. 2003, 117–118). Eine vertikale Hierarchie lässt sich innerhalb der Gruppe der Frauen nicht feststellen.

Bei den Männern sind die Ausstattungsregeln strenger als bei den Frauen. Die als Beigaben in Männergräber gelangten Gegenstandsformen, die auch als Statuszeichen anzusehen sind, fanden sich niemals in Frauen- und Kindergräbern. Die Schwerter zeigen Gebrauchspuren und mehrere der bestatteten Männer waren schwer oder sogar tödlich verletzt worden. Hingegen dürfte ein körperlich behinderter Mann mit Schwertbeigabe sein Schwert nie selber im Kampf geführt haben.

Das Schwert ist eine wirkungsvolle Waffe, die auch der sozialen Stelle des Mannes entspricht. Hingegen spielt der Dolch wahrscheinlich keine Rolle als Statussymbol, während Helm und Tasse wiederum sicher zu den Statuszeichen gehören. Die Tasse deutet auf eine eher rituelle Funktion hin (David-Elbiali 2010, 42). Diese begrenzte und klare Auswahl der Männerbeigaben lässt darauf schließen, dass sich in ihr möglicherweise eine soziale Hierarchie wiederspiegelt. Die hohe Zahl der gut ausgestatteten Männer, die mit höherem Alter immer wichtiger erscheinen, zeigt außerdem, dass diese Hierarchie eher eine „horizontale" ist. Es handelt sich möglicherweise um Familienoberhäupter mit kriegerischen Pflichten.

So gesehen sind die Geschlechter ungleich, aber ein unterschiedlicher sozialer Wert kann nicht wirklich bewertet werden, weil die Männergräber keineswegs deutlich reicher als die Frauengräber ausgestattet waren. Im familiären Kontext besaß wahrscheinlich jedes Geschlecht seine spezifischen Pflichten. Die Kinder waren der Familie unterworfen. Sie wurden mit Beigaben ausgestattet, die mit ihrem jeweiligen Geschlecht verknüpft sind. Dabei erhielten sie nie das gesamte Beigabenspektrum ihres Geschlechts mit ins Grab. Besonders deutlich zeigt sich dies bei den Knaben, deren Dolche und Libationstassen zu anderen Typen gehören als diejenigen der Männer.

Schlussbemerkungen

Die Analyse der Nekropole von Olmo di Nogara lässt in der Mittelbronzezeit keine großen Unterschiede in Grabbau und Lage innerhalb der Frauen- und der Männergräber erkennen. Die begrenzte Komplexität der Beigaben und der große Anteil beigabenführender Erwachsenengräber (50 % der Männer und 50–75 % der Frauen) deuten darauf hin, dass die sozialen Unterschiede nur gering waren und dass die Beigaben horizontale Sozialindikatoren darstellen. Ungeklärt bleibt, ob die Nekropole nur für eine bestimmte Schicht, und zwar die Oberschicht, reserviert war.

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[13] (David-Elbiali 2010, Abb. 14). Abschätzung der Größe aus den langen Knochen einer ziemlich hohen Zahl von Skeletten (Capitanio/Corrain 1996–97). Geschlechtskorrekturen in Abhängigkeit von den Beigaben.

Untersuchungen der Ernährung lassen keinen signifikanten Unterschied zwischen Frauen und Männern hinsichtlich ihrer jeweiligen Nahrung erkennen (Tafuri et al. 2009).

Der soziale Aufstieg könnte mit dem Alter und einer möglichen Hochschätzung der Erfahrung verbunden sein, wie die häufigeren Ausstattungen innerhalb der Gruppen der Gräber der reifen und auch senilen Altersklassen zu zeigen scheinen. Man hätte es demnach mit einer Stammesgesellschaft im Sinne von Renato Peroni zu tun, das heißt mit einer auf Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen aufbauenden sozialen Gruppe (Peroni 1989; Cupitò/Leonardi 2015, 218).

Zwei andere norditalienischen Nekropolen der Mittelbronzezeit, Roncoferraro–Cascina Due Madonne (Mantova, I) und Povegliano–Gambaloni (Verona, I) sind Olmo di Nogara sehr ähnlich (Corrain 1961; Rittatore Vonwiller 1961; Cupitò 2006; David-Elbiali 2010, 231–232). Es handelt sich ungünstigerweise um Altfunde und kleine Komplexe.

Die Terramaren-Nekropole von Casinalbo (Prov. Modena, I)

Sehr interessant sind zudem die Ergebnisse aus den mittelbronzezeitlichen Terramare-Nekropolen südlich der Po-Ebene, wo sehr früh die Brandbestattung aufkam. In Casinalbo (Modena, I) wurde nachgewiesen, dass dort Schwerter und Dolche die Männer zwar sehr wohl noch bis auf den Scheiterhaufen begleiteten, ihre Reste jedoch anschließend nicht im Grab deponiert wurden[14]. Auch die Frauenknochen zeigen grüne Spuren von Metallbeigaben, obwohl Bronzeobjekte in den Urnen ziemlich selten sind. Die Gestaltung der Gräber lässt keinen Unterschied zwischen Frauen und Männern erkennen. Die Knochen wurden in einem Gefäß aus Keramik deponiert und die Urne in eine enge Grube gestellt. Ein Teil der verbrannten Knochen, die zerbrochenen, verbrannten Bronzebeigaben und mögliche Libationsgefäße liegen auf rituellen Flächen innerhalb der Nekropole. Die Bruchstücke der Schwerter lagen im Zentrum dieser Flächen, die Fragmente der Dolche und des Schmucks hingegen am Rande, was auf eine mögliche Hierarchie hindeuten könnte (Cardarelli 2014, 102–106). Am Ende des Totenrituals erscheinen aber alle Unterschiede zwischen Frauen und Männern sowie zwischen reicheren und ärmeren Menschen gewissermaßen aufgehoben. Dieses scheinbar egalitäre Bild der Gesellschaft erreicht in der Spätbronzezeit und Urnenfelderzeit eine geographisch weite Verbreitung. Dies kann religiös oder auch „politisch“ motiviert gewesen sein (David-Elbiali 2010, 218).

Die Veränderungen in der Spätbronzezeit

Wie bereits oben beschrieben, ändern sich in der Spätbronzezeit die strengen Ausstattungsregeln der Mittelbronzezeit. Während südlich des Po im Bereich der Terramare die Brandbestattung bereits in der Mittelbronzezeit das Totenritual vollständig beherrscht, so wird nun auch nördlich des Po in der Region von Verona die Körperbestattung zugunsten der Brandbestattung immer seltener. Diesen Wandel dokumentieren mehrere Nekropolen wie zum Beispiel Bovolone–Fondo Mirandola (Verona, I), Legnago–Scalvinetto (Verona, I), Villabartolomea–Franzine Nuove (Verona, I), usw. (Salzani 2010; Cavazzuti et al. 2015; Salzani 2004; Aspes 1973; Aspes/Fasani 1968).

Besonders aufschlussreich ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Zone C der oben bereits besprochenen Nekropole von Olmo di Nogara. In ihrem nördlichen Bereich liegen die mittelbronzezeitlichen Gräber – Frauen, Männer und Kinder –, im südlichen die spätbronzezeitlichen. Die letztgenannten sind Körpergräber, vor allem von Frauen und Kindern, darunter viele kleine Kinder unter sechs Jahren, was in der Mittelbronzezeit so nicht zu beobachten war. Brandgräber sind jetzt häufiger, jedoch erlauben weder die seltenen verbrannten Beigaben noch die Anthropologie, das Geschlecht und Sterbealter sicher zu bestimmen. Eine sorgfältige Untersuchung hat jedoch gezeigt, dass Erwachsene beiderlei Geschlechts und Nichterwachsene gleichermaßen verbrannt wurden und dass bei einer Anzahl von 23 Erwachsenen bestimmbaren Geschlechts zwei Drittel der Individuen weiblich und ein Drittel männlich waren (Magno et al. 2015). Somit ist neben den Waffen auch ein Großteil der Männergräber gewissermaßen verschwunden.

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[14] (Cardarelli et al. 2003, Cavazzuti 2011). Auch in der Nekropole der Terramare Beneceto – Forno del Gallo (Prov. Parma, I) wurden Dolch- und Schwertnieten auf der Oberfläche des Bodens gefunden (Bronzoni et al. 2013, 258).

Geradezu zwangsläufig stellt sich die Frage, warum nun plötzlich so viele kleine Kinder in den Nekropolen bestattet wurden? Dieses Phänomen ist auch von anderen Gräberfeldern bekannt, zum Beispiel in Villabartolomea–Franzine Nuove (Verona, I) (Corrain et al. 1984), wo ungefähr 55 % der Toten keine Erwachsenen waren. Die Kleinkinder, vor allem die Neugeborenen, fanden in anderen Perioden keinen Platz auf dem Friedhof (de Marinis 1994, 420). Handelt es sich hier um eine bessere Anerkennung der Kinder, verbunden mit einem Wandel der religiösen Vorstellungen, der auch für die Aufgabe der Waffenbeigabe verantwortlich zu machen wäre, und zudem auf eine geringere soziale Ungleichheit hindeuten könnte? Es könnte sich aber auch um eine Zunahme der Kindersterblichkeit handeln, möglicherweise mit den Ereignissen verbunden, die zum Zerfall der Terramarekultur führten[15]. Interpretationen in der Urgeschichte sind jedoch nie eindeutig und mit Unsicherheiten behaftet. So kann auch sein, dass soziale und religiöse Veränderungen ihrerseits durch die tiefgreifenden Ereignisse, die den Untergang der Terramarekultur begleiteten oder verursachten, induziert wurden.

DIE NEKROPOLEN VON FRATTA POLESINE–FRATTESINA (PROV. ROVIGO, I)

Nach dem Untergang der Terramarekultur entwickelten sich im östlichen Teil der Poebene einige große Ballungsräume wie Frattesina, das ein wichtiges, mehr als 20 ha großes Handwerkzentrum während des 12. bis 9. Jahrhundert vor Christus war. Dieses lag am rechten Ufer eines früheren Armes des Po – am Po von Adria – und stand im Warenverkehr mit Gebieten nordwärts der Alpen, mit Nord- und Mittelitalien und mit entfernteren Regionen des Mittelmeerraums. Importe aus Zypern, Arbeiten aus Elfenbein, Straußeneischalen und Geweih, daneben vor allem eine große Produktion von Glasperlen, Metallverarbeitung – Bronze, Blei, Gold – und auch etwas mykenische Keramik aus Süditalien sind gut belegt (Zega et al. 2010). Frattesina war ein bedeutender Platz im Netz des Nah- und Fernhandels und ein wichtiger Endpunkt der Bernsteinroute aus dem Norden (Bellintani 2015). Drei Nekropolen sind mit der Siedlung verknüpft: Le Narde I und II sowie Fondo Zanotto (Salzani 1989; Salzani 1990–91; Salzani/Colonna 2010; De Min 1986). Sie umfassen jeweils mehr als 600 Gräber, 240 Gräber und ungefähr 150 Gräber.

Organisation der Nekropolen

Die Gräber wurden sehr dicht neben- und übereinander angelegt (**Abb. 13**) und bildeten in Narde II und Fondo Zanotto kleine bis mittelgroße Gruppen. In Narde I bildete die Masse der Gräber einen breiten und niedrigen Hügel (von ungefähr 30 m Durchmesser und 2 m hoch mit 6 Gräberschichten in der Mitte).

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[15] In diesem Zusammenhang sei an eine Hypothese von Renato Peroni und Andrea Cardarelli erinnert, dass die von Dionysos von Halikarnassos (60–8 v. Chr.) im ersten Jahrhundert vor Christus erwähnen Pelasger die Bewohner der Terramaren waren. Dionysos überliefert, dass der Nachwuchs der Tiere und der Menschen von einem Unglück getroffen wurden und in großer Zahl starben (Cardarelli 2010).

Totenritual

Dokumentiert sind Brand- und Körpergräber, von denen die Brandgräber bei weitem vorherrschen (nur 3 Körpergräber in Narde I und 18 in Narde II, Salzani/Colonna 2010, 296). Jedes Brandgrab bestand aus einer engen Grube, deren Boden mit einer dünnen Kohleschicht vom Scheiterhaufen bedeckt war; in der Grube war eine bikonische Urne aus Keramik platziert, die mit einer als Deckel dienenden Schale verschlossen war.

Beigaben in Narde II und Fondo Zanotto

Die Beigaben wurden in der Urne oder manchmal auch in der Grube deponiert und bestehen hauptsächlich aus Trachtelementen, die durch das Feuer verformt waren (**Abb. 14**). Bezeichnend für die Männer sind die Schlangenfibel, die Nadel und das Rasiermesser; für die Frauen hingegen Fibeln anderer Formen, besonders die einfache Bogenfibel, Spinnwirtel aus Keramik oder Geweih. Auch Glas- und Bernsteinperlen sind häufiger Bestandteil der Frauengräber.

Die Körpergräber enthielten keine Beigaben mit der gelegentlichen Ausnahme kleiner Spiralen oder weniger Glasperlen. Deshalb werden sie oft als die Bestattungen von Menschen eines niedrigeren Status angesehen. Es handelt sich um Männer, Frauen und Kinder. In Narde II, wo die Knochen aus 16 Körpergräbern analysiert worden sind, handelt es sich um acht Männer, vier Frauen und vier Nichterwachsene (Salvadei/Mantini 2010, 53).

Beigaben in Narde I

Im Gegensatz zu den beiden zuvor genannten ist die Nekropole von Narde I reicher ausgestattet. Andrea Cardarelli und andere Forscher gliederten die Frauen-, Männer- und Kinderbeigaben nach ihrer Komplexität in fünf Gruppen und stellten sie den beiden Nekropolen von Le Narde I und II gegenüber (Cardarelli et al. 2015). Die Beigaben bestehen aus Schmuck, unter anderen zahlreichen Glas- und Bernsteinperlen, Nadeln und Fibeln, diversen Ringen, Geweihscheiben, Kämmen, Toilettengeräten, Rasiermessern, Webgeräten, usw.

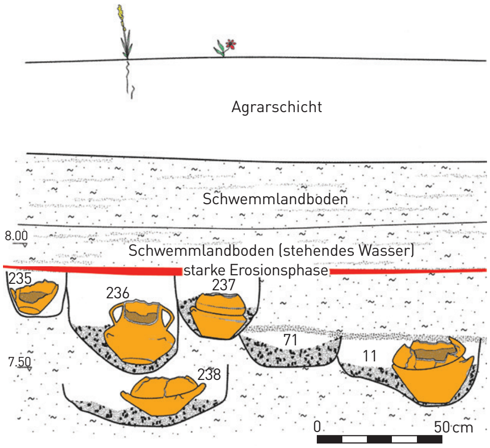

Abb. 13. Frattesina – Le Narde II (Prov. Rovigo, I). Querschnitt des westlichen Kanalprofils, der die Anordnung der Gräber zeigt (nach Salzani/Colonna 2010, modifiziert).

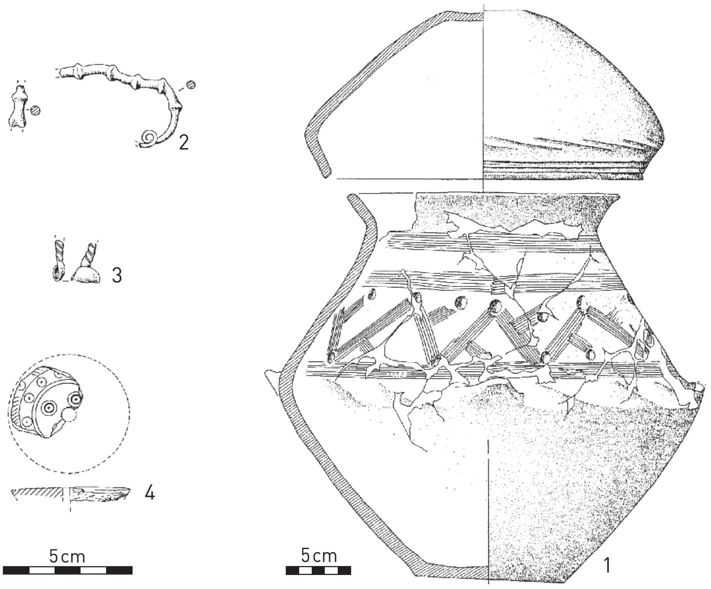

Abb. 14. Frattesina – Le Narde II (Prov. Rovigo, I). Frauengrab 136: 1. Urne und Deckel aus Keramik, 2-3. Bruchstücke von Fibeln aus Bronze, 4. Scheibe aus Geweih (nach Salzani/Colonna 2010).

Einige Objekte sind im Zusammenhang mit der Waffenbeigabe relevant. Vier Gräber mit Schwertnieten als *pars pro toto* sind hier genauso zu nennen wie die beiden typochronologisch aufeinander folgenden Gräber 168 und 227, die zwei Schwerter vom Typ Allerona enthielten. In Grab 168 lagen die Schwertstücke zusammen mit einer Pinzette und einer Nadel außerhalb der Urne. In der Urne selbst befanden sich ein Ring und ein Stückchen eines Spiralröhrchens. Das Grab 227 besaß bemerkenswerterweise eine größere Grube als die anderen Gräber und enthielt viel Scheiterhaufenerde. Die zahlreichen Beigaben lagen in der Urne: ein Schwert mit goldenen Bestandteilen des Schwertgriffs, ein Goldring, Knöpfe mit goldener Verzierung, ein Rasiermesser, eine Pinzette, ein verziertes Messer, eine Nadel, ein Spiralarmring, mehrere Glasperlen, Teile eines verzierten Knochenplättchens und andere Bruchstücke, allesamt vom Feuer des Scheiterhaufens verformt (**Abb. 15**)[16].

Wie oben erwähnt, wurden die Waffen ab der Spätbronzezeit nicht mehr in den Gräbern deponiert. Es handelt sich möglicherweise um ein religiöses Verbot und die Waffen gehören entweder zu den Hortfunden und in die Gewässer oder sie wurden zerbrochen und verbrannt, aber nach dem Leichenfeuer nicht abschließend in die Urne getan[17]. Daraus lässt sich folgern, dass die Männer mit den zwei sorgfältig zerbrochenen Schwertern einen besonderen, hohen Status besaßen, hoch genug um das Gebot zu übertreten. Wie Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri hervorhob, enthielten in Norditalien nur drei Gräber dieser Zeit ein Schwert, die beiden hier genannten von Le Narde I und das Grab 292 von La Ca' Morta (Como, I) (Bietti Sestieri 2009, 15). Bei den beiden Gräbern in Narde, die zeitlich aufeinanderfolgen, handelt es sich womöglich um die Bestattungen von zwei Anführern. Und so zeichnet sich in dieser Gegend zum ersten Mal deutlich eine vertikale Hierarchie ab, die auf eine Gliederung der Gesellschaft in soziale Klassen hinweist. Auch einige Frauengräber sind reichlich mit Schmuck ausgestattet, aber keines lässt sich mit dem Männergrab 227 vergleichen.

Zwei Sozialklassen?

Die Ergebnisse der anthropologischen Untersuchungen steuern einen weiteren wichtigen Aspekt bei: die Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung weicht in den beiden Nekropolen von Narde voneinander ab (Cardarelli et al. 2015, 438–441). Der Anteil der Geschlechter ist in Narde I ausbalanciert, während in Narde II die Frauen leicht überwiegen. Aber die Geschlechtsbestimmungen von Brandgräbern beinhalten immer auch einen bestimmten Unsicherheitsfaktor, weil sie fast ausschließlich auf der Robustheit der Knochen fußen. Das Verhältnis der Altersklassen lässt sich dagegen sicherer bestimmen und ist somit von größerem Interesse.

In Narde I sind Dreiviertel der Toten erwachsene und ältere Menschen, während in Narde II 35 % der Toten Subadulte sind. Die Lebenserwartung, die in den norditalienischen Nekropolen der Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit (*Bronzo Recente*) um die 17–18 Jahre betrug[18], würde demnach in Frattesina ansteigen und in Narde I erheblich höher als in Narde II sein[19]. Dieses Bündel von Anhaltspunkten könnte darauf hindeuten, dass in Frattesina möglicherweise zwei unterschiedliche Sozialklassen zusammenlebten: eine höhere Gesellschaftsklasse, die in der Nekropole von Le Narde I bestattet wurde, wäre demnach wohlhabender und hätte möglicherweise die Kontrolle über die Gemeinschaft, die Güterproduktion und den Handel innegehabt, während eine untere Sozialklasse, die in der Nekropole von Le Narde II zu finden ist, ärmer gewesen wäre. Ihre Mitglieder wären zudem in jüngerem Alter gestorben. Es ist allerdings nicht zu ergründen, ob die Mitglieder dieser unteren Sozialklasse abhängige Arbeiter oder Sklaven gewesen waren. Sie könnten eventuell auch freie Arbeiter gewesen sein, die die schmutzigeren und gefährlicheren Handwerkertätigkeiten ausübten.

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[16] (Salzani 1989, 16–17, 21). Einige Elemente wurden aus der Urne gepresst, als das Gefäß durch den Druck der Sedimente zerquetscht wurde.

[17] Schon ab der Spätbronzezeit (*Bronzo Recente*) südlich der Po-Ebene in Casinalbo (Cardarelli et al. 2003).

[18] (De Marinis 2003, 15–17). Ohne Korrektur wäre die Lebenserwartung von 25 Jahre, was tatsächlich zu hoch für die Bronzezeit ist und was sehr gut in den Artikel nachgewiesen ist.

[19] (Cardarelli et al. 2015, 440–441, Abb. 4). Hier haben die Autoren keine Korrekturen gemacht und die Zahlen der Lebenserwartung sind unwahrscheinlich hoch, aber was für uns interessant ist, sind nicht die absoluten Werte, sondern die drei Zahlen in Verbindung zu setzen.

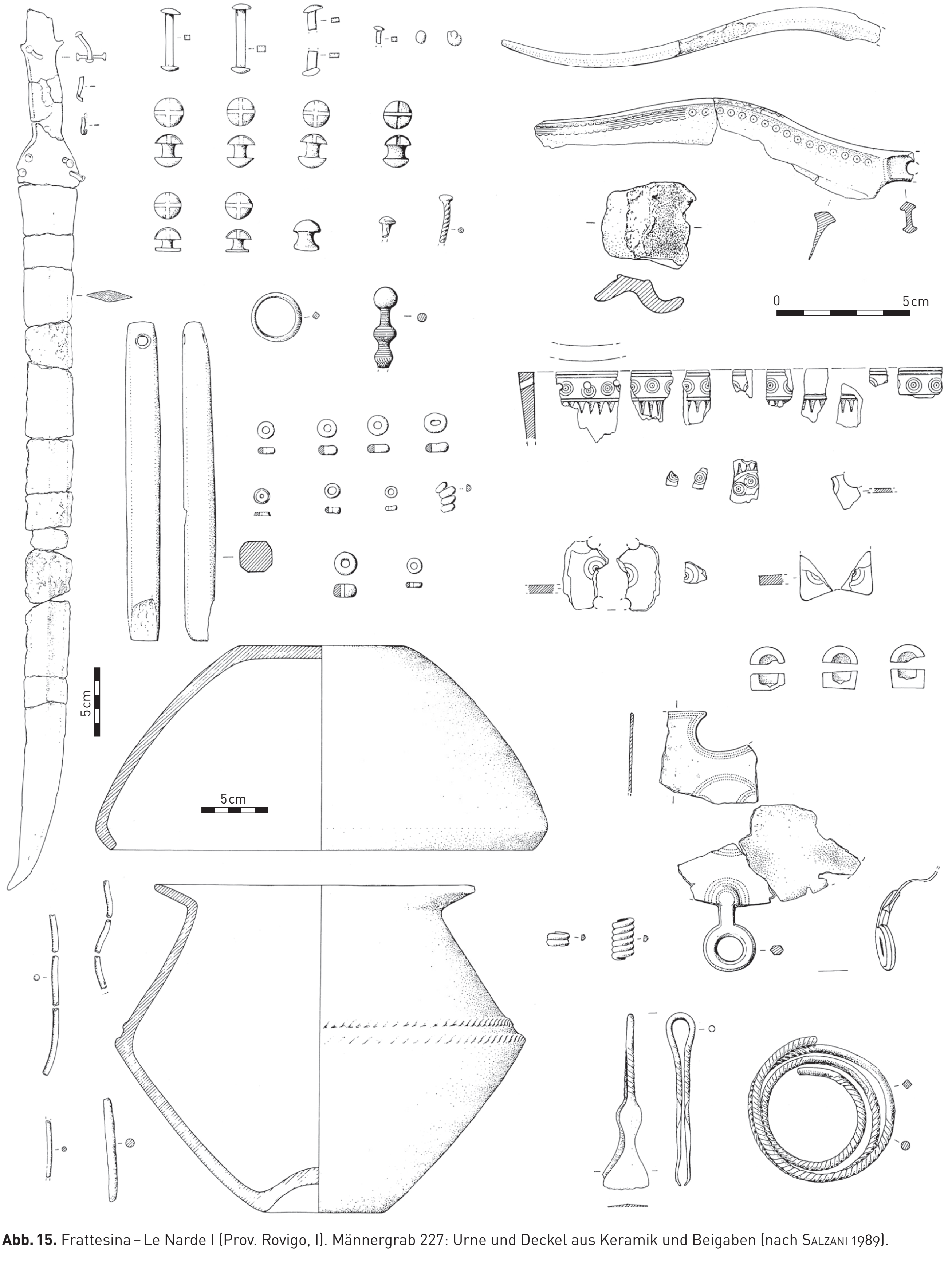

Abb. 15. Frattesina – Le Narde I (Prov. Rovigo, I). Männergrab 227: Urne und Deckel aus Keramik und Beigaben (nach Salzani 1989).

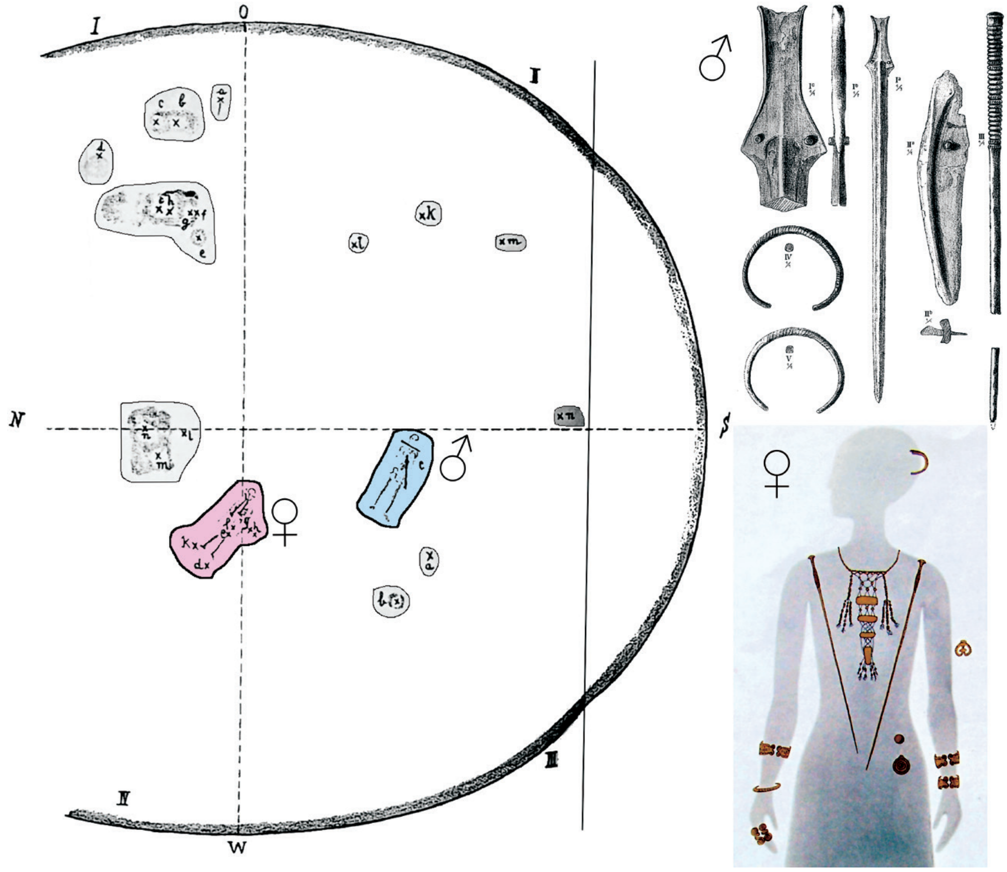

Abb. 16. Asenkofen (Kr. Freising, D). Plan des Hügelgrabs mit den Frauen- und Männergräbern und den zugehörigen Beigaben (nach Macha et al. 2006).

Es muss aber betont werden, dass auch in Narde II in einigen Frauengräbern gerippte Stäbe aus Knochen oder Geweih gefunden wurden, die von der archäologischen Forschung als Prestigeobjekte angesehen werden[20]. Wie schon oben angemerkt, kann die Interpretation archäologischer Überreste schriftloser Kulturen niemals eindeutig sein.

Alles in allem lässt sich in Norditalien ab der ausgehenden Spätbronzezeit (*Bronzo Finale*) eine Gesellschaft mit möglicherweise zwei Sozialklassen greifen, die ungleich waren. Weitaus deutlicher treten die Ansätze einer vertikalen Hierarchie und somit einer sozialen Ungleichheit auf der Ebene des „Staates" hervor – und nicht allein auf der Ebene der Familie. Dieser erste Wandel führt in der Folge zu den protourbanen und urbanen Gesellschaften der Frühen Eisenzeit (*Prima Età del Ferro*) (de Marinis 1994; 1999).

MITTEL- UND SPÄTBRONZEZEIT SOWIE URNENFELDERZEIT NÖRDLICH DER ALPEN

Die Entwicklung der Gesellschaft und das damit einhergehende Auftreten einer Ungleichheit sozialer Klassen[21], so wie es in Norditalien auf „logische" Weise geschieht, sind

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[20] (Salzani/Colonna 2010, 303). als Spindel, Spinnrocken oder kleines Webschiffchen angesehen.

[21] Anders als Ungleichheit zwischen einzelnen Individuen.

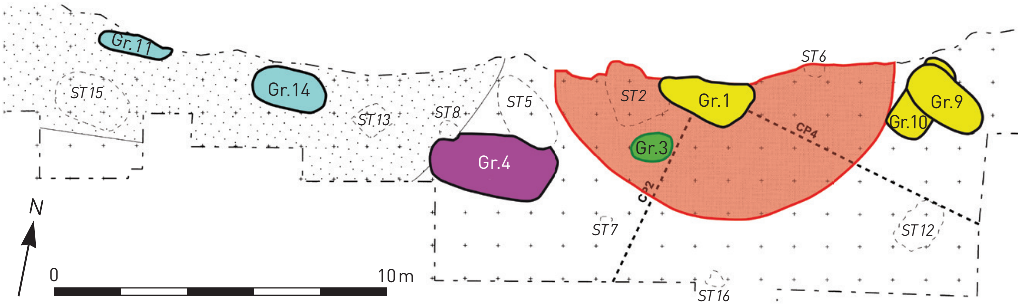

Abb. 17. Vufflens-la-Ville – En Sency (Kanton Waadt, CH). Plan der Nekropole (das Brandgrab 3 datiert in die Stufe HaA2) (nach Mariéthoz et al. 2005).

nordwärts der Alpen schwerer zu fassen. Eine Altersklassen- und Geschlechtsstruktur wie sie in Nogara-Olmo nachweisbar ist und die Hinweise über die Gesellschaftsstruktur gibt, kann nur dort herausgearbeitet werden, wo die Anzahl der Gräber groß genug ist. Eine Altersklassenstruktur zeichnet sich in den kleinen nordalpinen Hügelgräbernekropolen im Gegensatz zu Norditalien weniger deutlich ab. Deshalb ist es nördlich der Alpen viel schwerer, sich der Frage sozialer Ungleichheit in der Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit anzunähern.

Während der Mittelbronzezeit dominieren nördlich der Alpen hauptsächlich kleine Hügelnekropolen. Die berühmten auf der Schwäbischen Alb und im Elsass wurden häufig schon sehr früh untersucht und die Informationen sind zwar zahlreich, aber dennoch mangelhaft. In ihnen ist oft von schmuckreichen Frauengräbern und von Männergräbern mit Waffen die Rede. Der Schwerpunkt liegt besonders auf Gräbern mit Beigaben wie beispielsweise im oberbayerischen Asenkofen am Rande des Isartales (Kr. Freising, D) (**Abb. 16**). Das Frauengrab in Hügel E war mit einem Nadelpaar, Armringen, einem Bernsteincollier usw. ausgestattet, die Männerbestattung enthielt Schwert, Messer, Nadel und Armringe (Wenzl 1907 bei Macha et al. 2006, 245, 262–266, 288, 290–291, 296, 303, Taf. 1; 4–6). Hier ist eine sichtbare „soziale Gleichheit“ zwischen Frau und Mann festzustellen: die beiden nebeneinander im selben Hügel in gleicher Lage beigesetzen Toten waren ähnlich reich ausgestattet.

Bei den Altfunden wurden beigabenlose Gräber meist jedoch kaum beachtet und anthropologischen Daten und anderen Analysen sind generell selten und unvollständig. Neue Ausgrabungen wiesen neben der Präsenz reicher Frauengräber und einiger Männergräber mit Waffenbeigabe eine weitaus größerer Anzahl beigabenlosen Gräber nach. Als Beispiel sei hier die kleine Nekropole von Vufflens-la-Ville – En Sency im Kanton Waadt angeführt.

Die Nekropole von Vufflens-la-Ville – En Sency (Kanton Waadt, CH)

Das kleine Gräberfeld wurde zwischen 1993 und 1996 bei Patrick Moinat und François Mariéthoz sehr sorgfältig untersucht (**Abb. 17**) (Mariéthoz et al. 2005; David-Elbiali 2010, Abb. 24).

Die Gräber im und am Rande des Hügels

Der einzige Hügel der Nekropole war zu Beginn der Ausgrabungen bereits zur Hälfte zerstört. Ungefähr in seiner Mitte lag jedoch noch unzerstört das Hauptgrab (Gr. 1) mit zwei Körperbestattungen: unten eine alte Frau mit einem Pfriem und einem Miniaturgefäß, darüber ein beigabenloser junger Mann mit einer Feuersteinpfeilspitze im Brustkorb, deren Eindringen möglicherweise die Ursache seines Todes war. Nach der anthropologischen Untersuchung der Zähne waren diese beiden Bestatteten miteinander verwandt. Am Rand des Hügels befanden sich zwei weitere Körpergräber: die Bestattungen eines 13+/-2 Jahre alten jugendlichen Individuums, vielleicht ein Mädchen, mit einem Dolch und einer Tasse (Gr. 10), und die eines alten Mannes (Gr. 9). Letzterer wies drei tödliche Verletzungen am

Kopf und eine Pfeilspitze aus Feuerstein im Lendenbereich auf. Unter dem verletzten Schädel lag eine Nadel.

Die Frauengrabkammer

Ganz nahe dem Hügelrand befand sich eine Grabkammer aus Holz mit sechs Bestattungen (Gr. 4). Alle Schädel waren separat vom jeweiligen Körper im oberen Bereich der Kammer deponiert worden. Vier der Skelette stammen von erwachsenen Frauen, zwei von jugendlichen Individuen. Die Beigaben bestehen aus 87 Bernsteinperlen, Muschel-, Bärenzahn-, Hirschzahn- und Hundezahnanhängern, einem angesägten menschlichen Eckzahn und einem Krug aus feinem Ton. Spuren von Kupfer wurden an den Knochen der älteren Frau beobachtet. Das kleine Kind ist beigabenlos, wohingegen die beiden senilen Frauen bestens ausgestattet sind.

Die beigabenlosen jungen Männer

An der Peripherie der Nekropole lagen zudem zwei beigabenlose Körpergräber von jungen Männern (Gr. 11 und 14).

Schlussbemerkungen

Die anthropologische Untersuchung hat wie auch schon in Olmo gezeigt, dass die Männer ziemlich oft infolge von Gewalteinwirkung verstorben sind und dass die Frauen sehr harte repetitive Arbeit ausübten. Zudem zeigen alle Individuen Wachstumsstörungen, die auf Mangelernährung zurückzuführen sind. In Vufflens sind die Frauen deutlich besser ausgestattet als die Männer.

Das Sonderphänomen der Wagengräber der Spätbronzezeit

Ein eigentümliches Phänomen sind die Gräber, Grabdepots und ausnahmsweise Hortfunde mit Wagenfunden der „Hart an der Alz-Gruppe“, die von Christopher Pare definiert wurde und nach BzD/HaA datiert (Pare 1987, 38–46). Alle Gräber sind Brandbestattungen und ihre Zahl beträgt derzeit um die 30 Befunde (Pankau 2013a, 130). Sie waren nicht unbedingt Bestandteil bedeutender Nekropolen, sie liegen aber immer an Verkehrsknotenpunkten, das heißt in der Nähe von wichtigen Flüssen – Rhein, Rhône und Donau – und zeichnen in ihrer Verbreitung einen Bogen, der die Zone nordwärts der Alpenraum begrenzt (Abb. 1, die roten Symbole) (Pare 2004, Abb. 3; Pankau 2013b, Abb. 1).

Beigaben

Außer Wagenteilen enthalten diese Fundkomplexe „hochwertige“ Funde: Waffen in ungefähr der Hälfte aller Fälle – vor allem Lanzenspitzen –, Trachtelemente – darunter auch solche von Frauen wie in Königsbronn (Kr. Heidenheim, D) –, feintonige Keramikgefäße und in einigen Fällen sogar kleine Gewichte wie in Königsbronn, Poing (Kr. Ebersberg, D) und vielleicht auch in Hader (Kr. Passau, D). Die Gewichte bezeugen die Praxis des Wiegens. Und weil sie klein sind, dürfte das gewogene Gut, einen hohen Wert besessen haben, wie z. B. Edelmetalle.

Geschlecht

Weil diese Wagen so häufig mit Waffen vergesellschaftet sind, wurden diese Gräber häufig mit einem Kriegerstand verknüpft, obwohl eigentlich stets ausgeschlossen wurde, dass es sich um Kampfwagen handeln könnte (Pare 1987, 46). Vielmehr wurden sie durchweg als Zeremonial- oder Totenwagen angesehen. In den Toten, die offensichtlich immer Männer waren, glaubte man mächtige Menschen von hohem Status zu erkennen. Claudia Pankau hat schließlich gezeigt, dass die Befunde diesbezüglich gar nicht so eindeutig sind (Pankau 2013b). Vielmehr haben anthropologische Untersuchungen bestätigt, dass zuweilen auch Frauen und Kinder unter den Bestatteten waren, wie z. B. in Essenbach, während in Königsbronn die Waffen von Frauenschmuck begleitet werden (**Tab. 7**). Pankau trug zwei Hypothesen vor: die Wagenbestattung könnte auch eine Familie, eine religiöse Gruppe oder ähnliches vereinen, oder aber die Menschen sind eher „zufällig“ mit im Grab, weil es in diesem Kontext das Wichtigste war, den Wagen selbst zu bestatten (Pankau 2013b, 134).

Schlussbemerkung

Die Wagengräber sind ein vorübergehendes Phänomen ohne Traditionsbildung, das ohne dauerhafte Auswirkungen auf die Gesellschaftsstruktur bleibt. Ihre Lage am nördlichen Rand der Alpen deutet aber zumindest auf eine Beziehung zwischen den Gebieten beiderseits der Alpen hin. Im Süden, auf der anderen Seite der Alpen, erlebte zur selben Zeit die Terramarekultur ihre Blüte. Dort gab es im Gegensatz zu den nördlich der Alpen gelegenen Gebieten regelrechte Straßen, auf denen derartige Wagen tatsächlich fahren konnten (Bernabò Brea et al. 1997).

Die urnenfelderzeitliche Brandgräbernekropole von Zuchering-Ost (Stadtkr. Ingolstadt, D)

Nördlich der Alpen sind Gräberfelder, die mit den Nekropolen Norditaliens vergleichbar sind, erst ab dem Beginn der Urnenfelderzeit (HaA) nachweisbar. Ein vortreffliches Beispiel ist die Nekropole von Zuchering-Ost bei Ingolstadt in Oberbayern. Sie erbrachte 520 Brandgräber, die zwischen 1300 und 800 v. Chr. zu datieren sind (Schütz 2006).

Zwei Gräbertypen konnten hier unterschieden werden. Die Brandschüttungsgräber der Stufe BzD sind nur wenige, enthalten aber zahlreiche Beigaben, unter anderen Schwerter und auch weiblichem Schmuck. Die späteren Urnengräber sind deutlich zahlreicher, jedoch viel spärlicher ausgestattet. Schwerter wurden gar nicht mehr in den Gräbern deponiert und auch andere Waffenformen sind selten. Die wenigen Beigaben umfassen meist nur kleine Schmuckelemente, die dem Feuer der Leichenverbrennung ausgesetzt gewesen waren.

In der Stufe BzD scheint nur ein kleiner privilegierter Teil der Bevölkerung in der Nekropole beigesetzt worden sein, wohingegen die späteren Urnengräber einen weitaus größeren Teil der Bevölkerung abbilden dürften. Unterschiede zwischen Frauen- und Männergräber oder zwischen den anzunehmenden Altersklassen sind kaum nachweisbar. Die anthropologische Diagnose bleibt sehr fraglich und eine gründliche Analyse wäre nötig, um das Thema von neuem und grundlegend aufzugreifen.

Tab. 7. Tabelle der Wagengräber mit Information über das Geschlecht und die Altersklasse der Gestorbenen.

Fundorte	Geschlecht- und Altersklassen
Bergen D	unpubliziert
Bern – Kirchenfeld CH	Altfunde
Bruck – Fundstelle 5 D	Altfunde (*zerstört, keine Menschenknochen*)[1]
Essenbach D	Mann + Frau + 3 Kleinkinder + Adult? + Kind?[2]
Hader D	Altfunde
Hart an der Alz D	wohl adult, eher männlich[2]
Kaisten CH	Altfunde
Königsbronn D	Mann + Frau (*aufgrund der Beigabe*)[2]
Mengen D – 1905	Altfunde
Mengen D – 1955	?
Münchsmünster 1 D	?
Münchsmünster 2 D	unpubliziert
Oberottmarshausen D – St. 27	?
Poing D	früh adult, zierlich männlich[2]
Saint-Sulpice CH	Altfunde
Staudach D	Altfunde
Zuchering D – Gr. 192	adult 30-50 Jh., Geschlecht unbestimmbar[3]
Zuchering D – Kreisgraben 54	schlecht dokumentiert[3]
Zuchering D – Gr. 63A	Grab? (*keine Knochen erwähnt*)[3]
Zuchering D – Gr. 505	Brandschüttungsgrab (*noch nicht publiziert*)[3]
Zuchering D – Gr. 507	Brandschüttungsgrab (*noch nicht publiziert*)[3]
Zuchering D – Gr. 520	Brandgrab? (*Leichenbrandsplitter*)[3]

[1] In der Nähe, 4 Gräber, mindestens ein Männergrab mit Schwert und ein Frauengrab mit Schmuck in einer großen Grube mit Kieselsteinarchitektur deponiert (Eckstein 1963). [2] Pankau 2013b, 131. [3] Schütz 2006.

Der Sonderfall Neckarsulm – Trendpark Süd (Kr. Heilbronn, D)

Die Struktur der Altersklassen lässt sich in der urnenfelderzeitlichen Nekropole von Neckarsulm in Baden-Württemberg gut beobachten, da es sich hier im Gegensatz zu den anderen zeitgleichen Nekropolen um Körperbestattungen handelt (Knöpke/Wahl 2009). Obwohl es sich um eine exzeptionelle Nekropole handelt, da hier keine Kinder und sehr wahrscheinlich auch keine Frauen bestattet wurden, ist wie in Olmo di Nogara für jede Altersklasse ein Schwertträger nachgewiesen. Die Komplexität der Beigaben ist gering und die Menschen der verschiedenen Altersklassen kommen in Mehrfachbestattungen vereint vor (David-Elbiali 2011, Abb. 10). Dank der Knochenanalyse ist die Nahrung bekannt. Sie war für alle gleich. Die soziale und ökonomische Differenzierung erscheint auch hier gering.

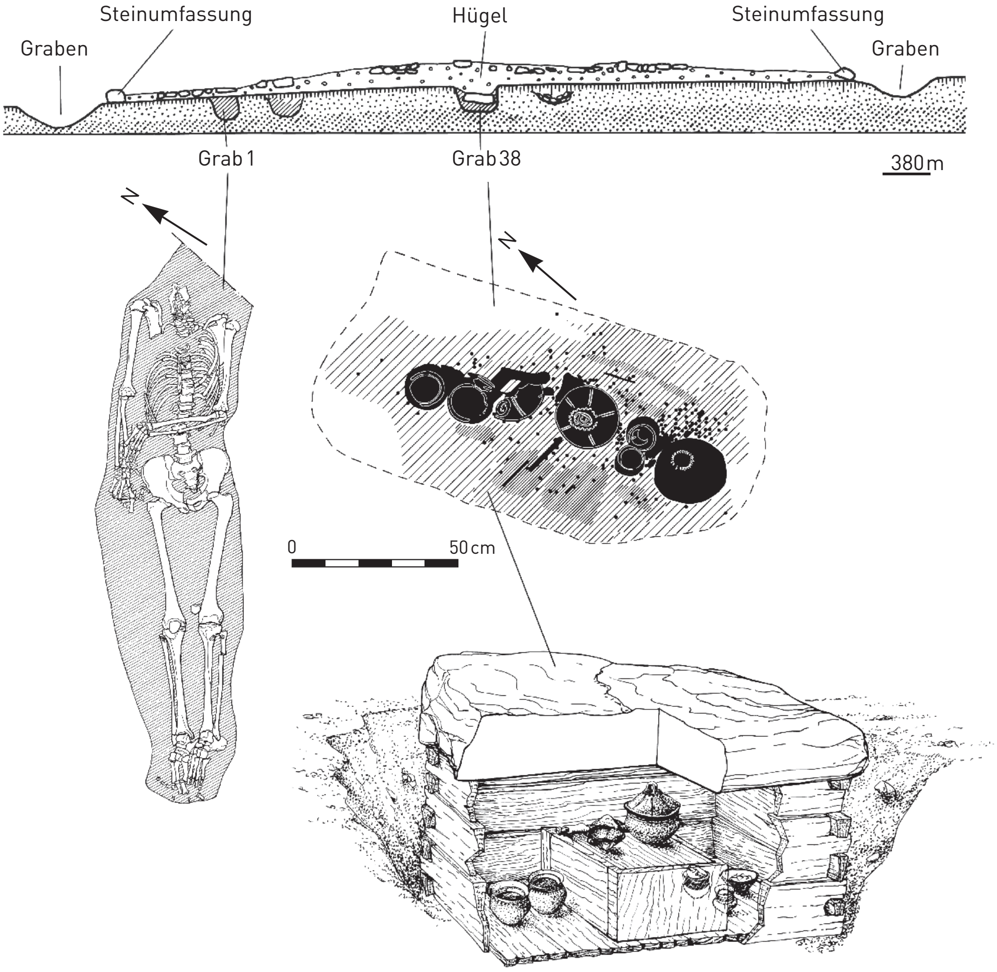

Abb. 18. Lausanne – Vidy / Musée Romain (Kanton Waadt, CH). Profil des urnenfelderzeitlichen Hügels, Pläne der Gräber 1 und 38 und Rekonstruktion des Grabes 38 (Zeichnungen P. Moinat und M. Klausener, nach Moinat/David-Elbiali 2003).

Frau und männlicher Sklave in Lausanne – Vidy (Kanton Waadt, CH)?

Zufällige Spuren gesellschaftlicher Ungleichheit wie diejenige zwischen den Geschlechtern und Altersklassen können hier und da festgestellt werden. Der Befund der Struktur 38 von Lausanne–Vidy im Kanton Waadt eröffnet die Möglichkeit für weitergehende Gedanken (Moinat/David-Elbiali 2003).

Ein breiter Hügel bedeckte zwei urnenfelderzeitlichen Gräber (**Abb. 18**). In der Mitte befand sich ein Brandgrab in einer Holzkiste, die mit einer mehr als 20 Zentimeter dicken Steinplatte bedeckt war. Der grazile Mensch – vielleicht eine Frau – wurde mit Tongefäßen, Tierknochen und einer Nadel bestattet. Am Rand des Hügels lag das Körpergrab eines zwanzigjährigen Mannes ohne Beigaben. Eine Hypothese könnte sein, dass es sich um einen geopferten Sklaven handelt.

Die Architektur der spätbronzezeitlichen Pfahlbausiedlungen in der Schweiz lässt im Allgemeinen keine sichtbaren Unterschiede zwischen den Häusern erkennen und so ist die Existenz zwei oder mehrere Sozialklassen anhand der Bauten in den Siedlungen nicht nachweisbar. Aber die Zahl der Brandbestattungen mit Metallbeigaben und Keramikservice in Vidy ist gering und das bedeutet, dass nicht jeder/jede Angehörige der Gemeinschaft einen Platz auf dem Gräberfeld bekommen hatte. Die Situation in der nahegelegenen Nekropole von Tolochenaz – Le Boiron (Kanton Waadt, CH) ist jedoch anders und zeigt nur relativ geringe Ausstattungsunterschiede zwischen den Gräbern (Gallay i. V.).

SCHLUSSFOLGERUNG

Die ausgewählten Beispiele zeigen, dass in den großen Nekropolen Unterschiede zu erkennen sind, die auf dem Geschlecht und der jeweiligen Altersklasse der Bestatteten gründen. Diese beiden Faktoren strukturieren alle menschlichen Gesellschaften. Während des Lebens werden diese durch Unterschiede in Tracht und sozialer Rolle kenntlich gemacht und diese Unterschiede sind dann oft auch noch im Grab zu erkennen. Innerhalb der Kategorien von Geschlecht und Alter lassen sich Unterschiede im „Reichtum" feststellen. Diese werden im Laufe der Bronzezeit grösser oder zumindest deutlicher erkennbar[22]. Dieses Anwachsen der Beigaben betrifft Frauen wie Männer gleichermaßen und entspricht einer gesellschaftlichen Elite. Diese ist jedoch keinesfalls mit einer aristokratischen Schicht gleichzusetzen, die sich von der übrigen Bevölkerung separiert und dauerhaft stabil im Sinne von Traditionsbildung ist.

Diese Beispiele zeigen auch, dass die Nekropolen im Laufe der Bronzezeit sich nicht gleichartig nördlich und südlich entwickeln. Das ist der Ausdruck der voneinander abweichenden Entwicklung der Gesellschaften nördlich und südlich der Alpen.

Frühbronzezeit

Während der Frühbronzezeit überwiegt im Bestattungswesen die Körperbestattung in leichter Hockerlage. In der Poladakultur (Asola, Arano, Gazzo Veronese) und in Singen ist geschlechtsdifferenzierte Orientierung der Beigesetzten üblich, während im Bereich der Aunjetitzer Kultur (Prag, „Fürstengräber") dies nicht vorkommt.

Das **Geschlechterverhältnis** schwankt von einer Nekropole zu der anderen. Lediglich in Asola und Singen erscheint es ausgeglichen (Tab. 1 und 2). In Arano hingegen gibt es zweieinhalbmal so viele Männer wie Frauen (Abb. 3), während in Prag umgekehrt ein Überschuss an Frauen zu konstatieren ist (Tab. 3). Diese Daten sind schwer zu interpretieren. Ist der Grabzugang auf bestimmte Menschen beschränkt oder war das Geschlechterverhältnis in der damaligen Gemeinschaft unausgewogen? In Prag könnte man an Gruppen besonderer Bestattungen so wie in Singen denken.

Die **Altersklassenverteilung** ist ebenfalls variabel. Die Neugeborenen fehlen. In Prag gehört die Hälfte der Bestatteten zur Altersgruppe der Nicht-Erwachsenen, in Arano sind dies circa 40 %, in Asola circa 25 % und in Singen die Hälfte der Gräber mit weiblicher Orientierung und nur ein Fünftel der Männer mit männlicher Totenlagerung (Tab. 1–3, Abb. 3). So kommen in der Gruppe III von Singen nur ein einziges Kind und eine einzige junge Frau auf elf Leute; bei den anderen handelt es sich ausschließlich um Erwachsene, unter denen viele ältere Menschen, und zwar meistens Männer sind (Abb. 4C).

Der **Grabbau** ist unterschiedlich. In Asola findet man nur einfache Gruben (Abb. 2). In Singen wurden die Toten in Baumsärgen mit Steinumfassungen bestattet, die jedoch keinen Status widerzuspiegeln scheinen (Tab. 2). In Prag beobachtete man hölzerne Totenbehältnisse mit oder ohne Steine, einige einfachen Gräbergruben und ein Kleinkind in einem Pithos (Tab. 3). Zwei Gräber unterscheiden sich von den anderen durch eine aufwendige Architektur: eine Erwachsene mit männlichen Beigaben (Grab 16) und ein Mädchen im Alter von 8–12 Jahren, leidend an *cribra orbitalia* und mit einer Nadel ausgestattet (Grab 27) (Abb. 5). In Arano wurden ebenfalls Steinumfassungen und Steinbedeckungen beobachtet (Abb. 3). Das bemerkenswerteste Grab ist das männliche Grab 18, das von einem Mäuerchen in Trockenbauweise eingefasst war. Einige

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[22] Dank der Zunahme der Zahl und der Größe der Bronzen.

Gräber waren ganz ohne Steine; es handelt sich dabei vor allem um Kinder, jedoch auch um einige Erwachsene beiderlei Geschlechts. Es ist sehr schwer zu beurteilen, inwieweit und in welchem Maß diese Steineinbauten, die in fast alle Nekropolen zu finden sind und dabei sehr verschieden sind, mit dem Sozialstatus der Toten verbunden sind. Das Kriterium der in Prag-Miskovice gemessenen Arbeitszeit scheint die beste Methode zu sein, um die Relevanz dieser Steineinbauten zu bewerten. Es muss noch betont werden, dass die sogenannten Fürstengräber des Aunjetitzer Kulturkreises, die so heißen, weil ihre Beigaben viel reicher als der Durchschnitt sind, tatsächlich eine monumentale Architektur aufweisen.

Die ganze Bronzezeit über sind die Beigaben sowohl vom Geschlecht als auch von der Altersklasse abhängig. Am Anfang der Frühbronzezeit sind in Norditalien die Beigaben spärlich. In Arano handelt es sich vor allem um kleine Schmuckgegenstände aus Muscheln, Knochen, Stein und Fayence in den Frauen- und Kindergräbern (Abb. 3). Hinzu kommen noch drei Metallgegenstände, ein Dolch in einem Männergrab und zwei Schmuckobjekte in Frauengräbern. In Asola wurden kleine Schmuckobjekte aus Metall, Muscheln und Knochen in vier Frauengräbern und in einem einzigen Männergrab entdeckt (Abb. 2). In Singen sind es ebenfalls die Frauengräber, die ein bisschen reicher an Metallbeigaben sind; und diese Beigaben sind auch vielfältiger (Tab. 2). Die Frauen können eine Nadel, einen Pfriem, einen Ösenhalsring und manchmal auch andere Schmuckelemente und in zwei Fällen sogar einen Dolch mit ins Grab bekommen. Die männlichen Beigaben bestehen vor allem aus einem Dolch; manchmal kommt ein Armring dazu, der weniger Windungen als die Ringe in den Frauengräbern aufweist, sowie eine Nadel dazu. Die mit einem Dolch ausgestattete junge Frau des Grabes 7 und der Mann in Grab 73 waren zudem mit einem Ringlein aus Silber, einem in dieser Periode seltenen Metall ausgestattet. In Prag wurden in den Gräbern oft kleine Schmuckobjekte aus Metall, Bernstein und Muscheln sowie eine Nadel gefunden (Tab. 3). Am spärlichsten ausgestattet sind die Kinder. Die Haarringe werden ausschließlich von den erwachsenen Frauen getragen. Die seltenen männlichen Bestattungen weisen nur wenig oder gar keinen Schmuck auf. Die Waffen sind sehr selten und auf die Gräber 16, wahrscheinlich männlich, und 32, ein Frauengrab beschränkt. Keramikgefäße wurden in acht Gräber gefunden und scheinen eine Nahrungsopfergabe enthalten zu haben (Abb. 6).

Es muss betont werden, dass in Gazzo Veronese zwei goldene Schläfenringe in zwei Männergräbern gefunden wurden. Derartige Ringe finden sich auch in den sogenannten Fürstengräber des Aunjetitzer Kulturkreises, die sich aus dem Üblichen hervorheben, indem sie Waffen, Werkzeuge eines Bronzegießers und Goldschmuck vereinen.

Bezüglich der topographischen Gliederung der Nekropolen wurde festgestellt, dass in Asola eine Mehrheit der Männergräber in der Nordgruppe liegt (Abb. 2). Die Gräber mit Beigaben sind auf die beiden topographischen Gruppen gleichmäßig verteilt. In Arano zeigt die Verteilung der Gräber besondere Gegebenheiten (Abb. 3). So liegen die imposanteren Bauten im Zentrum der Nekropole. Südlich davon liegt eine Gräbergruppe mit mehreren Mehrfachgräbern, in denen Geschlechter und Altersklassen vermischt sind und die eine kleine Ausstattung an Schmuckgegenständen mitbekommen hatten. Dagegen liegen in der Nordgruppe Einzelgräber fast ohne Beigaben, die mehrheitlich männlichen Geschlechter sind. In Singen verteilen sich die Gräber auf verschiedene Gruppen (Abb. 4A), die unterschiedlich gegliedert sind. So zeichnet sich die Gruppe III durch eine hohe Zahl älterer Personen aus, die größtenteils männlich sind (Abb. 4C). Die Hälfte von ihnen war mit einem Dolch ausgestattet. Zwei der Dolche sind verziert, bei zwei anderen ist die Oberfläche mit Arsen oder Zinn bedeckt, was ihnen ein silbriges Aussehen gibt.

In Prag vereint die sehr dichte Westgruppe drei erwachsene Frauengräber und sieben Gräber von Nicht-Erwachsenen (Abb. 5). Im Osten liegen die Gräber weiter auseinander und die Geschlechter und Altersklassen liegen hier gemischt nebeneinander. Das Frauengrab 32 mit Waffenbeigabe liegt einzeln im Norden. Auch die Aunjetitzer Fürstengräber liegen oft einzeln oder werden nur von einer begrenzten Zahl anderer Gräbern umgeben.

Um die Beschaffenheit der Ernährung zu bestimmen, wurden entsprechende Analysen in mehreren Nekropolen durchgeführt. Insgesamt ergaben sie keine Unterschiede zwischen Frauen- und Männergräbern sowie zwischen Gräbern mit und ohne Beigaben. Eine aufmerksame Lesung der Analysen erlaubt jedoch die Feststellung, dass in Arano das Nahrungsspektrum der Männer breiter als dasjenige von Frauen ist und dass die interindividuelle Variabilität unter den Männern höher als diejenige unter den Frauen ist. In Singen stellten die Autoren fest, dass der Fleischverbrauch mit dem Alter offenbar zunahm, wobei die Individuen mit höherem Alter vor allem Männer waren. Dieser Unterschied wird auch durch den großen Abstand zwischen dem *Sklaven* von Bruszczewo, der an infantiler Anämie gelitten hatte und früh gestorben war, und dem *Fürsten* von Kąty Wroclawskie verdeutlicht. Dieser hatte ebenfalls als Kind an schlechter Ernährung und an Hunger gelitten, scheint aber in der Dämmerung seines Lebens von einer fleischreichen Ernährung profitiert zu haben. Schlussfolgernd lässt sich sagen, dass Nahrungsmängel während der Kindheit häufig gewesen sein dürften in Anbetracht der rekurrenten Schäden, die an den Gebeinen festzustellen sind, dass die Frauen wahrscheinlich über eine weniger reiche Ernährung als die Männer verfügten und schließlich dass die Unterschiede zwischen den Frauen wahrscheinlich weniger groß waren als bei den Männern zwischen den Mitgliedern der Elite auf der einen und den Männern, die am unteren Ende der sozialen Leiter standen, auf der anderen Seite.

Diese wenigen Beispiele, aus dem breiten europäischen Gräberkorpus der Frühbronzezeit genommen, zeichnen das Bild einer komplexen Realität, die über eine einfache Analyse der Beigaben hinausgeht, um sich der Frage nach der Gleichheit oder Ungleichheit zwischen den Geschlechtern anzunähern. Außer den geschlechtsbedingten Unterschieden zwischen Frauen und Männern sind bei der Beschäftigung mit dem uns gestellten Thema, wie in der Einführung bereits dargelegt, auch die sich möglicherweise aus der Zugehörigkeit zu bestimmten Altersklassen ergebenden Unterschiede zu berücksichtigen.

Der Grabbau scheint eine wichtige Rolle zu spielen, worauf die Gräber 18 und 21 von Arano und Grab 16 von Prag hinweisen. Tatsächlich dürfte die Investition an Arbeitszeit in diese drei Männergräber deutlich größer gewesen sein als für die Mehrheit der übrigen Gräber. In den beiden ersten Gräbern wurden zwei Knochenknäufe und der einzige Dolch der Nekropole von Arano entdeckt, im dritten Grab eines der beiden einzigen Metallinventare mit Dolch und Beil der Gruppe A der Nekropole von Miskovice. Es handelt sich anscheinend um Personen von größerer Wichtigkeit als der Durchschnitt der übrigen Personen, mit anderen Worten: um wichtige Männer. Aber dann wie kann man das Grab 27 von Miskovice interpretieren? Es kostete ebenfalls beträchtliche Arbeitszeit und verfügte über genügend Innenraum. Jedoch ist es nicht das Grab eines Mannes, sondern eines erkrankten acht bis zwölfjährigen Mädchens, das lediglich mit einer Gewandnadel ausgestattet war. Man könnte schließen, dass das Mädchen von vornehmer Abstammung war. Dies ist aber eine Annahme auf ziemlich tönernen Füßen.

Die jeweilige Lage eines Grabs innerhalb einer Nekropole scheint ebenfalls bedeutsam zu sein. So liegt das Grab 18 von Arano in einer zentralen Position (Abb. 3) und die Gruppe III von Singen zeigt eine Gruppierung gut ausgestatteter älteren Individuen, übrigens im Wesentlichen Männer (Abb. 4C).

Man muss schließlich feststellen, dass die Fürstengräber der nördlichen Aunjetitzer Kultur bisher kein Äquivalent in Norditalien finden. Die Stelle der Frauen in dieser Elite, die Macht und Reichtum ansammelt, ist unauffällig, wohingegen in manchen anderen frühbronzezeitlichen Gruppen die Frauen sehr gut ausgestattet sind, wie zum Beispiel die ältere Frau des Grabs 65 von Singen, die abgesehen von ihrem Schmuck auch einen der siebzehn in der Nekropole geborgenen Dolche besaß (Abb. 4B). Wie schon oben erwähnt, bilden diese Fürstengräber jedoch ein Sonderphänomen ohne gesellschaftliche Kontinuität.

Die Anhäufung kleiner Indizien, die den Bau der Gräber, die Lage derselben und den Anteil von Frauen und Männern an den Bestatteten betreffen, manch wertvolles Objekt wie die goldenen Schläfenringe in zwei Männergräbern von Gazzo Veronese sowie die Ernährung betreffenden Analysen deuten an, dass manche Männer eine anscheinend höhere Stellung als diejenige der Frauen aus derselben sozialen Klasse einnahmen. Andererseits sind einige Frauengräber ausgesprochen faszinierend. So enthielt das Grab 60 von Arano einen Ösenhalsring. Er ist der einzige und bildet außer dem Dolch aus Grab 21 den einzigen Metallgegenstand der gesamten Nekropole. Dieser Ösenhalsring stammt aus einem Frauengrab, dessen Orientierung von den üblichen Normen abweicht. Vielmehr folgt es in seiner Orientierung den Bestattungen weiblicher Individuen in nordalpinen Nekropolen wie zum Beispiel in Singen. Und auch der Ösenhalsring ist ein häufiger Bestandteil von Frauengräbern dieser Gegenden. Man kann also ernstlich die Annahme in Betracht ziehen, dass die Bestattete aus Grab 60 von Arano nordalpiner Herkunft war. Unter den besonderen Bestattungen von Frauen in Grab 32 von Prag-Miškovice noch bemerkenswerter: die Bestattete lag in Einzellage nördlich der Gruppe A (Abb. 5) und vereinte im Inventar zwei Ösenkopfnadeln und eine Bernsteinperle mit einem Dolch und einem Meißel, die in Männergräbern als Waffe betrachtet werden (Abb. 7). Die anthropologische Geschlechtsbestimmung und die DNA-Analyse bestätigen übereinstimmend, dass es sich um eine Frau handelt, obgleich die Autoren sich sehr diskret bezüglich dieses Grabes zeigen. Auch hier ist die oben in den Absatz Prag-Miškovice (CZ) (S. 217) vorgebrachte Annahme nur eine von möglichen Deutungen.

Mittel-, Spätbronzezeit und Urnenfelderzeit

Ab der Mittelbronzezeit nehmen die Unterschiede zwischen den Nekropolen nördlich und südlich der Alpen spürbar zu. Während die *Terramare* immer dichter die Po Ebene in Nordostitalien besiedeln, dehnen sich breite Friedhöfe in der Nachbarschaft dieser großen Siedlungen aus. In der Gegend von Verona dominiert während der Mittelbronzezeit die Körperbestattung, wird aber in der Spätbronzezeit weitgehend durch die Brandbestattung ersetzt. In den Nekropolen südlich des Po ist die Brandbestattung hingegen bereits seit der Mittelbronzezeit gängige Praxis. In einer Nekropole wie Olmo, die mehr als 500 Gräber umfaßt, ist die normative Rigidität der Beigabenkombinationen in Abhängigkeit von Geschlecht und Altersklasse während der Mittelbronzezeit frappant (Tab. 4–6). Es sind Standards, die in der Spätbronzezeit weniger deutlich profiliert hervortreten. Bei den erwachsenen Männern scheint das Schwert – darunter viele verzierte Exemplare – in gleicher Weise ein Kennzeichnen von Status und Prestige wie eine tatsächlich benutzte Waffe gewesen zu sein. Das Schwert ist im Grab zuweilen mit einem kurzen Dolch, einem Helm oder einer Libationstasse vergesellschaftet. Es sind noch einige andere Kombinationen dieser Kategorien von Gegenständen bekannt. Der Dolch ist jedoch immer mit dem Schwert vergesellschaftet. Die erwachsenen Frauen besitzen ein Paar von langen Nadeln – oft mit Bernsteinverschlüssen – in Kombination mit einer dritten Nadel. Unterschiedliche Kombinationen sind dokumentiert. Dazu kommen manchmal auch kleine Schmuckobjekte. Einige Kinder, die wahrscheinlich Knaben sind, sind mit einem Dolch oder einer Libationstasse gefunden worden. Es handelt sich aber um andere Tassenformen als in den Gräbern der erwachsenen Männer. Die männlichen Objekte wurden tatsächlich nie in Frauen- oder Kindergräbern entdeckt, wohingegen weiblich konnotierte Gegenstände durchaus häufig in Kindergräber gefunden wurden – jedoch nie die vollständige Ausstattung der erwachsenen Frauen. Es ist ebenso interessant festzustellen, dass die Beigaben sehr häufig in den Gräbern älterer Frauen deponiert wurden, in gleicher Weise wie auch bei älteren Männern. Das Frauengrab 411 von Olmo gehört zu den besonderen Frauengräbern: eine über 60-jährige Frau war mit einer vollständigen weiblichen Schmuckausstattung und zusätzlich mit männlich konnotierten Beigaben, einem Dolch und einer Libationstasse, bestattet worden (Abb. 12).

Ab der Spätbronzezeit (BzD) dominiert die Brandbestattung in allen norditalienischen Regionen. Damit einhergehend wurden eine drastische Senkung der Beigaben in den Gräbern und ein Verschwinden der Waffen beobachtet. Die Ausgrabungen in Casinalbo zeigen jedoch, dass die Waffen immer noch zumindest manche Männer begleiten; doch wurden nach der Verbrennung auf dem Scheiterhaufen die Bruchstücke nicht zusammen mit der Aschen des Verstorbenen gesammelt und mit in die Urne getan, sondern zum Objekt andere, uns unbekannter Handlungen. Die Nekropolen dieser Periode zählen eine sehr hohe Zahl von Nicht-Erwachsen; so liegen in Olmo mehr als einhundert Kindern unter sechs Jahren. Das „Überwechseln" der Waffen von der Quellengattung der Gräber hin zu den Horten und die erhöhte Anzahl der Kindergräber in den südalpinen Nekropolen ab dem „*Bronzo recente*" (BzD) entspricht sicherlich einem Wandel in den religiösen Vorstellungen oder Praktiken, der nördlich der Alpen erst mit ein oder zwei Jahrhunderten Verspätung spürbar werden wird.

In Norditalien ist der Wandel von einer Stammgesellschaft zu einer stärker hierarchisch gegliederten Gesellschaft ab der Endbronzezeit (*Bronzo finale*, gleichzeitig mit HaA2–HaB1) zu erkennen, die ab der Frühen Eisenzeit (gleichzeitig mit Ha B2/B3) im Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung des Fernhandels und der Urbanisation manifest wird. Dieses Phänomen ist durch die Analyse der drei Nekropolen, die Frattesina umgeben, gut belegt. Frattesina ist ein großes handwerkliches Zentrum in der östlichen Po-Ebene, das Handel mit nahen und fernen Ländern treibt. Wenn das strenge Ritual der Urnenbrandbestattung in einer engen Grube überall gleich ist (Abb. 13), lässt sowohl die Qualität der Beigaben als auch das Todesalter der Menschen darauf schließen, dass es dort zwei Sozialklassen gegeben haben könnte. Darüber hinaus zeichnen sich in zwei Gräbern sehr hochrangige Männer durch das außergewöhnliche Depot eines in mehrere Stücke zerbrochenen Schwertes ab (Abb. 15).

Ab dem „*Bronzo finale*" wird der Anteil der fremden Beigaben in Nordostitalien höher, und zwar sowohl in den Frauen- als auch in den Männergräbern. Dies steht mit Fernhandel bzw. Gütertausch über weite Distanzen in direktem Zusammenhang. Die große Aufmerksamkeit der Forschung für Waffen infolge einer Überbewertung der kriegerischen Tätigkeiten ließ in der Vergangenheit die handwerkliche Produktion in den Hintergrund der Betrachtungen geraten, und das, obwohl die Aufschwung des Handwerkes und das Wachstum des Güterverkehrs am Ursprung der Entwicklung der frühgeschichtlichen Gesellschaften steht.

Nördlich der Alpen ist die soziale Organisation der Gesellschaft hingegen viel schwerer zu fassen. Äußerst bemerkenswert ist die für die gesamte Bronzezeit festzustellende Kohärenz der Gesellschaft: die Beigaben einer Nekropole gehören jeweils fast ausschließlich zur gleichen Kulturgruppe. „Fremde" Beigaben sind selten und deuten keineswegs zwingend auf eine „fremde Herkunft" ihrer Besitzer hin, obwohl einzelne Frauen und Männer sicher von außen kamen.

Die mittelbronzezeitlichen Nekropolen sind oft klein. Körper- und seltene Brandbestattungen finden sich in unterschiedlicher Zahl in und unter ein und demselben Grabhügel vereint. Die Geschlechter werden gemischt oder getrennt bestattet, wie beispielsweise in Vufflens mit einer für die Frauen reservierten Grabkammer 4 (Abb. 17). Die Regeln, welche die Beigaben bestimmen, sind offensichtlich weniger streng als in Nogara. Manche Gegenstände (Nadeln, Armringe, usw.) werden beiden Geschlechtern mitgegeben. Die Frauengräber sind oft reich ausgestattet und übertreffen in der Anzahl manchmal die Männergräber. Die Gräber ohne Beigaben sind ebenfalls häufig und liegen auf dem Gräberfeld mit den anderen vermischt.

Während der Spätbronzezeit verbreitet sich die Brandbestattung. Beigaben können infolge der Einführung eines Keramikservices dennoch reichlich vorhanden sein und Waffen – unter anderem Schwerter – gehören nach wie vor zu den gängigen männlichen Beigaben. Es handelt sich jedoch um eine nur geringe Zahl von Gräbern, wie durch die Nekropole von Ingolstadt-Zuchering bestätigt wird. Das kurzlebige Sonderphänomen der Wagengräber, die nördlich des Alpenbogens verteilt sind, könnte sich durch die Verbindungen zwischen den nordalpinen Eliten und der *Terramare*-Region erklären lassen. Tatsächlich sind im Süden Straßen nachgewiesen; und die Wagen fuhren sicher von einer Siedlung zur anderen und waren nicht nur einfache Ritual- oder Beerdigungsfahrzeuge.

Die Nekropole von Neckarsulm, am Anfang der Urnenfelderzeit (HaA1) datiert, bleibt ein singuläres Phänomen mit ausschließlich erwachsenen Männerbestattungen und mehreren Mehrfachgräbern. Die Altersklassenverteilung der Beigaben ist jedoch vergleichbar mit derjenigen der anderen Nekropolen, so zum Beispiel mit einem Schwertträger je Altersklasse der Erwachsenen ab etwas dem 25. Lebensjahr (die Jüngsten der Bestatteten haben kein Schwert), wobei der Schwertträger über 60 zusätzlich einen Goldring erhielt.

Ab der Urnenfelderzeit vereinen große wie weniger große Nekropolen zahlreiche Urnengräber, die wie in Norditalien oft in einer engen Grube deponiert waren. Das Fehlen von Waffen, ebenfalls wie in Norditalien, und die Sitte der Brandbestattung erschweren sehr die Bestimmung von Geschlecht- und Gender. Anspruchsvolle Bauten wie die Holzgrabkammer von Vidy (Grab 38), die mit einer Hügelaufschüttung bedeckt war (Abb. 18), bestätigen sozioökonomischer Unterschiede, ohne dass es Hinweise auf eine vergleichbar fortgeschrittene Handwerkergesellschaft wie in Italien geben würde.

Überlegungen zur sozialen Ungleichheit zwischen den Geschlechtern

Der Begriff der Gleichheit / Ungleichheit verweist vorrangig auf wirtschaftliche Unterschiede und auf Statusunterschiede zwischen sozialen Klassen. Die Kategorien Frauen und Männer sind in diesem Zusammenhang nicht miteinander verfeindet. Sie sind die beiden wirksamen Hälften einer gegebenen sozialen Klasse, unabhängig von ihrem Status, die zusammen einen (großen) Teil der Vor- und Nachteile ihrer Stellung teilen. Das ist jedenfalls, was uns das Altertum unterrichtet, das den genauesten Bezugspunkt für die europäische Bronzezeit darstellt. Die Familie, unabhängig von ihrer konkreten Zusammensetzung, stellt eine solidarische Produktions- und Reproduktions-Einheit dar, deren Erfolg vom effektiven Funktionieren ihrer Mitglieder abhängig ist. Die Familienmitglieder ergänzen sich und verfolgen keine persönlichen Interessen auf Kosten der Gruppe. Dies ist in der Tat eine moderne Vorstellung, die den traditionellen Gesellschaften fremd ist. Die Sklaven gehören möglicherweise nicht zu der Gruppe, weil sie wahrscheinlich mehr als Objekte denn als Subjekte angesehen wurden.

So bezieht sich der Begriff der Gleichheit / Ungleichheit zwischen Frauen und Männer im Wesentlichen auf die Möglichkeit des Zugangs zu gewissem Status innerhalb der eigenen Sozialklasse der Familie. Dies bezeichnen wir heute als Chancengleichheit. Dem heutigen Begriff der Chancengleichheit entspricht keine frühere Realität in der Bronzezeit, und zwar genauso wenig dem Begriffspaar Reichtums / Armut. Ich mache mir die Aussage von Svend Hansen zu Eigen: „Man geht daher wahrscheinlich fehl, in der Bronzezeit überhaupt nach Gleichheit im modernen Wortsinne zu suchen“ (Hansen 2016, 198). Die Geschlechterkomplementarität wird zu Sozialrollen und spezifischen Aufgaben transformiert. Sowohl Männer als auch Frauen werden je nach Geschlecht angewiesen, die Verpflichtungen, die mit ihrer Sozialstellung verbunden sind, zu erfüllen, und zwar ohne große Freiheit, die eigene Zukunft zu beeinflussen. Die einzige Sicherheit, die wir im Hinblick auf die bronzezeitliche Gesellschaft haben, ist die Tatsache, dass die Frauen die Kinder gebären… Im Gegensatz zu dem, was man sich allzu leicht vorstellen kann, erfahren die Frauen diesbezüglich jedoch keine besondere Rücksicht von Seiten der Gesellschaft, denn das Kind befindet sich von Anfang an in der Schlinge des Sozialsystems. Wie jedoch Maurice Godelier überzeugend dargelegt hat, reichen eine Frau und ein Mann niemals allein aus, um ein Kind zu bekommen; in allen Gesellschaften drängt sich immer eine übergeordnete Instanz zwischen sie (Godelier 1996, 55–57). Was die menschlichen Gesellschaften zusammenhält, ist nicht ihre Wirtschaft oder ihre Eroberungsfähigkeit, sondern die Mythen, auf denen sie gegründet werden und die ihnen eigene spezifische Weltanschauung (Godelier 2007). Die Ethnologie zeigt, dass das Geschlechterverhältnis und die Vorherrschaft eines Geschlechtes über das andere eine entscheidende Rolle in den meisten menschlichen Gruppen spielen[23] und infolgedessen kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass dies auch in der Bronzezeit schon der Fall war. So gibt es einerseits die Notwendigkeit einer Komplementarität der Geschlechter und andererseits eine mögliche Vorherrschaft eines der beiden Geschlechter.

Bezüglich des zweiten Vorschlages ist festzustellen, dass die Waffen eine wichtige Rolle im Fundbestand der gesamten Bronzezeit spielen. Sie sind zahlreich und lediglich ein Teil der Identität mächtiger Männer, so wie auch in den früheren und späteren Perioden der Ur- und Frühgeschichte. Das bezeugen archaische Gesellschaften ohne Gesetze, in denen die Gewalt dominierte, um sich der Güter oder der Frauen der anderen zu bemächtigen und um Konflikte auszutragen. Die Stellung der Frauen ist in solchen Gesellschaften in höchstem Maße von der sozialen Position ihrer Familie bzw. ihres männlichen Partners abhängig. Und auch innerhalb hochrangiger Familien waren die Frauen im allgemein nicht sehr mächtig. Das soll nicht heißen, dass sie grundsätzlich eine nur untergeordnete Rolle gespielt haben, sondern vielmehr dass wahrscheinlich ein „harter Kampf“ und eine besondere Persönlichkeit nötig waren, um über Bedeutung und Einfluss zu verfügen.

Die wirtschaftliche Komplementarität gibt es jedoch auch. So beschreibt Cécile Michel die Beteiligung der Frauen an der Herstellung und dem Handel der Textilien in Aššur am Anfang des 2. Millenniums vor Christus (Michel 2005–2006). Die Frauen des Hauses weben mit der Hilfe der Kinder und der Dienerinnen die Wolle und die Männer werden beauftragt, die Wollgewebe bis Kleinasien zu verkaufen. Der Briefwechsel zwischen den Händlern und ihren Gattinnen beweist, dass jeder seine Verantwortung übernimmt, dass die Frauen ein Arbeitsentgelt bekommen und dass sie ihr eigenes Vermögen besitzen.

Ganz feine Indizien suggerieren ferner, dass der Zugang zur Nahrung für Frauen möglicherweise ein etwas anderer war als für die erwachsenen und vor allem die älteren Männer. In vielen traditionellen Gesellschaften essen die Frauen (und auch die Kinder und die Jugendlichen) erst nach den Männern das, was diese übrig ließen. Und selbst in der bereits aufgeklärten westlichen Welt hat früher der Vater bzw. das männliche Familienoberhaupt mehr Fleisch oder eine größere Menge Nahrung als die anderen Familienmitglieder bekommen.

Nicht nur das Geschlecht, sondern auch das Alter spielte eine wichtige Rolle, was den sozialen Rang innerhalb früher Gesellschaften angeht. Dies gilt sowohl für Männer wie auch für Frauen, obwohl an dieser Stelle daran erinnert werden muss, dass Frauen der älteren Altersklassen, das heißt ab circa 40 Jahren, in deutlich geringerer Zahl als die gleichaltrigen Männer nachgewiesen sind. Wenn jedoch Frauen das Alter von ca. 40 Jahren erreichten, dann scheint ihr Status mehr oder weniger der gleiche wie derjenige der Männer gewesen zu sein. In schriftlosen Gesellschaften, also ohne externes Gedächtnis, das erlaubt die Ereignisse und Erfahrungen zu horten, beruht die Kenntnis auf dem Gedächtnis ihrer Mitglieder und wird von einer Generation zur nächsten vererbt. Wenn die Lebensbedingungen schwer und die Lebenserwartung sehr begrenzt sind, dann mag der bedeutende Einfluss der älteren Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft nicht überraschen. Denn gerade sie sind, weil sie länger überlebt haben, wahrscheinlich von vergleichsweise robuster Konstitution und verfügen über besondere innergesellschaftliche Kompetenzen. Infolgedessen hatten sie die Möglichkeit, mehr Erfahrungen und Kenntnisse zu speichern als der Durchschnitt der übrigen Individuen. Denn solange sie gesund blieben und einen klaren Geist behielten, konnte ihre Macht wachsen.

Bedeutung der Gräber

Eine letzte, entscheidende Frage muss dennoch immer wieder gestellt werden: Was teilen die Gräber uns mit? Sie zeigen nur das, was die Überlebenden zeigen wollen oder was die Verstorbenen in ihrem Nachlass festhielten. Die Hauptsache besteht wahrscheinlich darin, ihren Rang innerhalb der Familie und der sozialen Klasse zu halten (Hansen 2016, 213). So können die in Gräbern manifestierenden materiellen Spuren der Ungleichheit ganz

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[23] *"[...] le rapport entre les sexes et l'institution d'une domination d'un sexe sur l'autre comme déterminants stratégiques, en avançant que cela constitue le cœur des logiques sociales que j'ai observées"* (Godelier/Rebeyrolle 2009, 9, Web Version).

stark von einer Periode zur anderen und von einer Region zur anderen variieren und es gab sicherlich wenig Raum für Frauen, die aus ihrer traditionellen Rolle ausgegangen wären.

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REVOLUTIONARY BRONZE AGE? ON THE FORM OF SOCIAL RESISTANCE IN BRONZE AGE CAUCASIA

“Social structure, like agricultural technique, is not given; it is substantially, especially over time, a choice. Much of that choice is in a broad sense political”.

(James C. Scott 2009, 207)

“Do politics have artefacts?”

(Bernward Joerges 1999, 1)

ABSTRACT

Revolution is a topic rarely addressed in archaeological discourse. Elite-focussed debates on social organisation usually neglect less visible parts of societies, regarding them generally as politically passive and mostly excluded from decision-making processes. On the basis of a case study from the North Caucasian Late Bronze Age, the possibility is discussed to read essential change in the social practice of constructing and inhabiting settlements as reflections of revolutionary processes. Two different concepts of life of a mountain society dating to the mid-2nd millennium BC present, on the one hand, communities that reveal spatial segregation and the emergence of social and economic inequality. On the other hand, balanced spatial and economic organisation of neighbourhoods, focusing on one common centre, reflects a more egalitarian or communally organised society. These contrasting social organisation models make it feasible to discuss organisational shifts as possible revolutionary processes or at least as oppositional processes. In the theoretical prelude, different antagonistic forms of social organisation are discussed. Beside the well-known discourse on elites and the emergence of social inequality, alternative forms of corporate organisations of societies, including collectively structured economics and government formation, are discussed. They allow a more balanced picture of possible forms of government and changes within organisational structures.

INTRODUCTION

Revolution in an archaeological context is a somewhat risky topic. Short-time events, such as rather spontaneous social turnovers that characterise revolutions in the first place, are hard to find, and even harder to interpret. However, social structure and the organisation of life are matters which require bargaining aspects of power, gaining access to vital resources and determining ideological superstructures that entail, among others, active resistance or revolution (Scott 2009, 158–219; Lichbach 1995). Social interaction is fundamental to human society and social actors – individuals or groups – operate in various modes of competition and cooperation to ensure the integrity of their social in-group (Blanton et al. 1996; Feinman 2000). Among the strategies to govern a social organism, scholars have focused for a long time on cumulative complexity, including the emergence of social and economic inequality (e.g. Price/Feinman 1995; Kristiansen 1998; Earle 1999; Earle/Kristiansen 2010; Flannery/Marcus 2012; for a critical overview see Kienlin 2012). In the development of complexity, it cannot be surprising that intragroup tensions arose so that political strategies also involve mechanisms to resolve such tensions between hierarchical and oppositional factions (Miller et al. 1989; Holst et al. 2013). Actual oppositional political actions, for instance, those of socially deprived groups or a systematic undermining of hierarchical structures are rarely stressed in the presented archaeological scenarios (for a social-historical discussion see Scott 2009). One reason for this is the elite focused debate that highlights ruling classes or individuals, neglecting the majority of the population that is regarded as having been politically passive, peaceful and engaged primarily in agricultural production acting only to keep their families from starving (Vandklide 2006). This is the heritage of a long discourse on social evolution in European philosophy and sociology. On the one hand, drawn from early ethnography is the myth of underdeveloped but noble "*wild*" aboriginals, who had preserved a lower stage of social organisation and thus were inferior to more advanced European conquerors. On the other hand, middle and lower classes were limited in political self-expression over a long time span, and political actions of deprived groups in society were and still are perceived and designated with negative sentiments (Bernbeck 2012). Another aspect for the neglect of interest in common populations in the archaeological discourse is the biased link of normal populations with everyday life and agricultural production. This leads to the significantly reduced visibility of these activities in the archaeological sources as compared to supposed elite activities such as warfare, conspicuous consumption or spatial segregation.

The myth of the peaceful, politically passive "wild" has been challenged in recent years, just as the notion of the peaceful, passive peasant of prehistoric Europe (Keeley 1996; Vandkilde 2006). However, debates still circle around the role that elites or charismatic leaders played in cultural evolution. To go beyond this one-sided perspective, one needs to widen the debate for a dialectical view on state, pre- or even anti-state forms of government. Shifting forms of social organisation do not only reflect advances in social complexity, synonymous to social hierarchy, but moments of collective political action of various social groups in general. But what could be interpreted as artefacts of oppositional politics in the Bronze Age? How would political actions of socially deprived groups be executed in a non-state society? Is social mutiny or even revolution a reasonable scenario for a prehistoric society, and how could its social background be perceived?

"Do politics have artefacts?" (Joerges 1999, 1). This is a provocative question from the philosophy of technics on how to read the social impact of material culture. It leads to a stimulating debate on the potential of material culture – here architecture – in the manipulation of space by members of a ruling class in order to create exclusive areas bare of commoners (Joerges 1999). Indubitably, material culture has the potential to create severe limitations that are socially funded and bodily experienced but not directly acknowledged. Space – its manipulation and assignment – is a crucial element and a strategy used in the regulation of social positions. Spatial configurations of buildings and other structures can foster or limit movements and sight, i.e. communication and social control (Grøn 1991). In contrast, the spatial dispersion of settlements or singular households represents a strategy to escape hierarchical government, economic exploitation and social repression (Scott 2009, 142–145, 182–187, 213–219).

Restrictions in the access to resources, commodities and economic capital (Earle 1997) or the monopolisation of social capital (Bourdieu 1983) are other practices, which lead to social inequality. Each of these strategies creates preferred and subordinate positions that are reflected in their own specific materiality – objects and styles, quantities and qualities, "spacing" of objects and persons (Müller 2005; Löw 2000; Hellmann 2014). Access to certain objects, material symbols or privileged space does not only mirror the political sphere but it is also formative for the realisation of social interaction (Bourdieu 1983; Schlögl 2004). Internal tension is a by-product in the negotiation of positions. The necessity to develop conflict management procedures to prevent constant face-to-face conflict is evident (see Brumfield 1989 or Holst et al. 2013). Looking for prehistoric *revolution*[1] means to look for moments, when conflict-regulating mechanisms failed. It must be directed towards abrupt shifts in social conventions, the redefinition of institutions and organisational principles as well as towards essential changes in earlier material representations. Violence can be an important part in a transformation process (GRAEBER 2009), but it is not essential to a revolutionary process by definition (EISENSTADT 1982). Even when it is difficult to point towards direct correlates of quick living moments in time, such as past revolutionary events, fundamental transformations in artefact assemblages can reflect the successful overthrow of previous political structures. This is particularly the case when some objects are associated with a specific despised ideological symbol that must be overcome (LICHBACH 1995, 23–24). However, rupture in archaeological records does not provide an answer regarding the objectives of past acting or counteracting entities. Disentangling the actions and possible motivations of deprived groups in the past requires a more general perspective on their specific social development. It has to overcome the major constraints in the archaeological debate of dealing with non-elite parts of past societies (VANDKLIDE 2006, 63–64; KIENLIN 2012; HOLST 2014), and to challenge the uncertainties of a fragmented archaeological record.

THEORY – COMPETITION AND COERCION VERSUS COOPERATION AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

Negotiating social positions is, first of all, a competitive act, whereby some or all persons in a group have to consign shares of their individual sovereignty. Regardless of the social distance existing between subgroups in the resulting system, discontentment is a frequent side effect. Societies have developed various practices to channel tension and reduce potential conflict, e.g., debates in councils, temporal banishment of troublemakers, or collective activities highlighting commonality, e.g., communal feasting, ritualised games or recurrent religious festivals. These are but some of the practises and not all of them are peaceful (FORSDYKE 2005; DIETLER/HAYDEN 2001; HEILMEYER et al. 2012; BRANDT/IDDENG 2012). Resources open to shared use or a collective management of common-pool resources are further mechanisms applied to reduce internal conflict (OSTROM 1990; ACHESON 2011). Moreover, a combination of social and economic practices equip small, autonomous collectives with regulations to prevent the social dissociation of elites (SCOTT 2009). These strategies require sets of intra-group related norms and control mechanisms, but meet social objectives such as personal welfare, reproduction and economic stability. Revolution is the terminal point in a social crisis when all these mechanisms have failed and the estrangement of rulers and the ruled has become insuperable.

A key issue in an archaeological search for social unrest is thus the organisational form of the society in focus. Governmental principles are rather variable, especially over longer time spans, and can shift from more hierarchical to more egalitarian forms. The unilinear advance of complexity from primitive bands to state civilisation (CARNIERO 1970; SERVICE 1975; COHEN 1978; BREUER 1998; FLANNERY/MARCUS 2012), involving rising social inequality and hierarchies, is currently heavily questioned not only by critics of early state formation (YOFFEE 2005; overview by KIENLIN 2012) but from an ethnographic and socio-historical perspective as well (CLASTRES 1987; SCOTT 1990; SCOTT 2009).

Most scholars agree on the existence of more or less emphasised hierarchies among social sub-groups such as individuals, families, households, kinship groups, factions, or classes. The degree of subordination as well the social practise of playing off hierarchies in various fields of social interaction remains a point of discussion. The emergence of elites, advancing forms of government and social complexity as well as rising social inequalities have

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[1] In this paper, I use the term *revolution* in its political dimension and in a modern sense (cf. BEYME 1973; EISENSTADT 1982), and not in the rather metaphorical sense of Vere G. Childe's phrase of the Neolithic revolution.

also been discussed in detail for a long time (Carneiro 1981; Gledhill et al. 1988; Price/Feinman 1995; for European archaeology: Kristiansen/Larsson 2005; Schier 2010). Despite different approaches, the development of hierarchical systems, including the monopolisation of power by a small elite and the development of a bureaucratic and/or repressive apparatus, is portrayed as advancement in cultural evolution. More flexibly organised, small-scale organisations, in contrast, are reckoned as less developed or as preliminary phases which develop into states (critical: Scott 2009; Holst 2014). Increasing scepticism on cultural evolution as a unilinear advance in complexity terminating in state societies opened up a broader discussion about the strategies used to govern social affairs. Alternative concepts on organisational forms of societies challenge the debate (Kienlin/Zimmermann 2012; Bernbeck 2012; Carballo 2013). The role of leading figures – big men, *Fürsten* or other forms of leaders – have been discussed with a critical impetus regarding their representativeness (Eggert 2007; Roscoe 2000; Holst et al. 2013). Alternatives to the elite-focused debate are outlined as contrasting models (Bernbeck 2008; Scott 2009; Bernbeck 2012) or as dichotomies, such as individual versus group oriented chiefdoms (Renfrew 1974), wealth-financed versus staple-financed contexts of production and exchange (Earle 1987) or the dual-processual model focusing on network versus corporate strategies in the organisation of power (Blanton et al. 1996; Feinman 1995; 2001; Reinhold 2012) (**Fig. 1**). These models integrate more balanced ideas of political participation, and include all social sub-groups, not only elites. Oscillation between the two organisational concepts is discussed not only in a chronological perspective of shifting systems but also as parallel existing fields of social practices within one community. Different levels of social activities, such as agrarian versus centralised craft production or defensive against offensive forms of warfare, can be organised in quiet different hierarchical systems (Holst 2014).

In praxis, competitive, hierarchical systems operate with governing elites and a military-aristocratic perception. Their economic basis is concentrated and extractive. Subordinate rural populations, taxation and/or a *corvée* labour system as well as the exclusion of commoners from crucial aspects of power are common (Reinhold 2012). Coercion can appear in the form of military repression or as an ideological superstructure that puts an emphasis on the religious and juridical hegemony of the elite.

In contrast, cooperative models discuss the mechanisms of collective forms of administration and the use of common pool resources. Key terms are *self-organisation* and *collective action* (Olsen 1965; Ostrom 1990; Axelrod 1997; Henrich et al. 2004; Carballo 2013; Carballo et al. 2014). Research on cooperation, particularly in US American archaeology, is part of a wider debate in economics, sociology, anthropology, and political science. Cooperation theories have a principal basis in rational choice theory, focusing on the balance of cost/benefit ratios as motivation for activities. With an origin in modern economies, a basic focus on rational choice in dichotomised action scenarios and a methodology drawing from game theory modelling are limitations that cannot easily be integrated into an archaeological debate (but see Holst/Rasmussen 2012). In a survey on this theoretical field, David M. Carballo and his co-authors have considerably widened the argumentative basis by an integration of concepts discussed so far under different prefixes, for example, the role of reciprocity and redistribution in the discussion on cost/benefit ratios, mechanisms of social control in the form of positive/negative reputation, or psychological factors of cooperative behaviour – termed rewards – in the form of economic security, positive feedback, and emotional integration into a cohesive collective (Carballo et al. 2014, 106–108 with further literature). Compared to other concepts of elite/non-elite relationships under the threat of coercion, violence or ideological dominance, *collective action theory* highlights the importance of motivation and active participation to redound to the advantage of a larger collective (Rand et al. 2009).

Collective action theory is likewise crucial for a debate on the motivation of collective social resistance, rebellion and revolution (Lichbach 1995; for an actual overview cf. Francisco 2010). What induces community

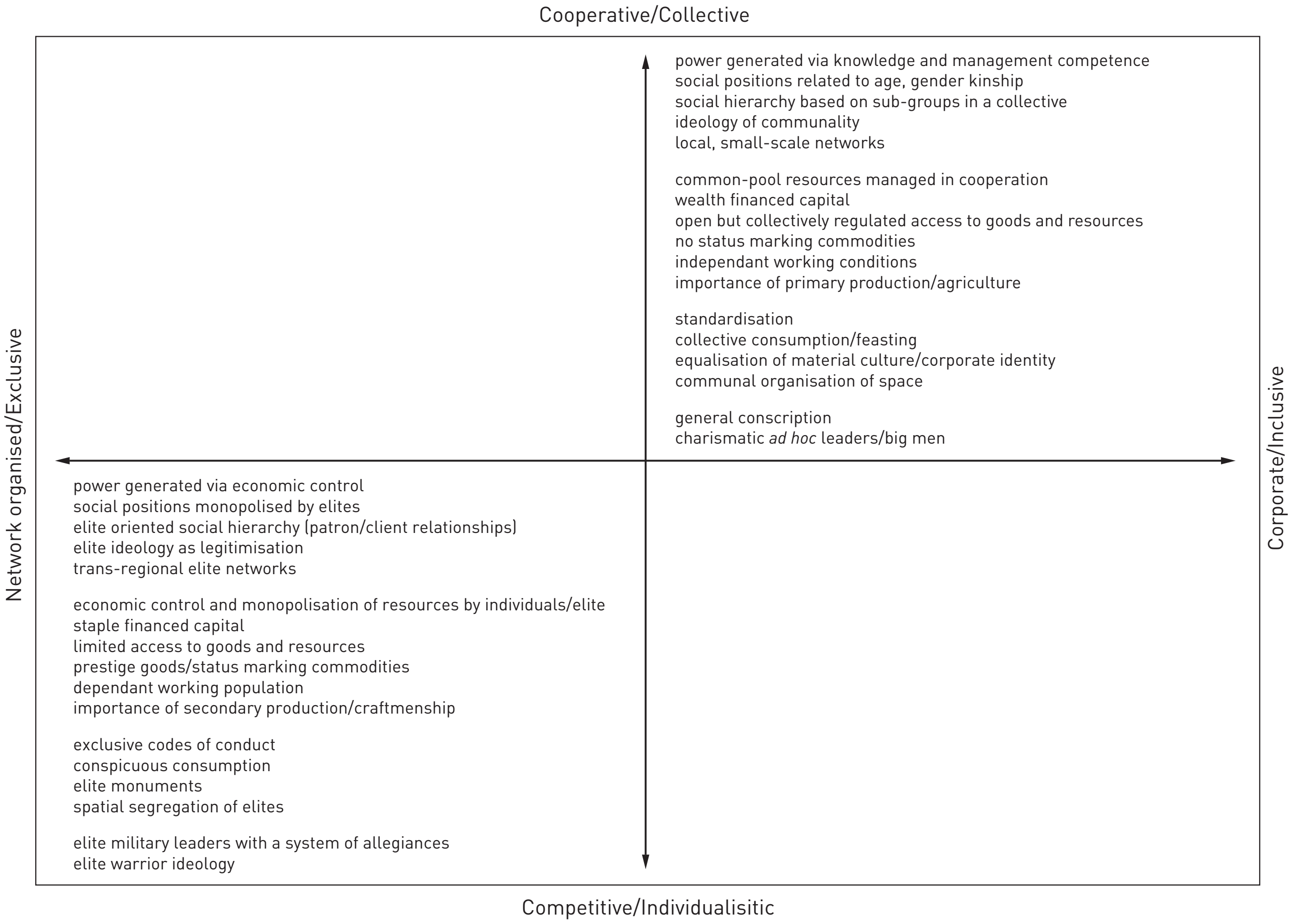
Cooperative/Collective
power generated via knowledge and management competence
social positions related to age, gender kinship
social hierarchy based on sub-groups in a collective
ideology of communality
local, small-scale networks
common-pool resources managed in cooperation
wealth financed capital
open but collectively regulated access to goods and resources
no status marking commodities
independant working conditions
importance of primary production/agriculture
standardisation
collective consumption/feasting
equalisation of material culture/corporate identity
communal organisation of space
general conscription
charismatic *ad hoc* leaders/big men
Network organised/Exclusive
Corporate/Inclusive
power generated via economic control
social positions monopolised by elites
elite oriented social hierarchy (patron/client relationships)
elite ideology as legitimisation
trans-regional elite networks
economic control and monopolisation of resources by individuals/elite
staple financed capital
limited access to goods and resources
prestige goods/status marking commodities
dependant working population
importance of secondary production/craftmenship
exclusive codes of conduct
conspicuous consumption
elite monuments
spatial segregation of elites
elite military leaders with a system of allegiances
elite warrior ideology
Competitive/Individualisitic

Fig. 1. The axes of the dual-processual model (modified after Blanton et al. 1998; Feinmann 2000; Reinhold 2013).

members to act in protest? Most of them are actually never involved in protests and only 5 % act at all on their own impetus. Nevertheless, protests can temporarily mobilise large groups in bandwagon effects, and active minorities can overthrow systems. This form of *collective action theory* stresses factors that enable mobilisation against ruling classes. As in other forms of collective action, cost/benefit ratios play an important role. Factors other than potential economic benefits that are addressed include shared cultural values or objectives, contracts to dissident leaders or the recruitment of patrons (typology by Lichbach 1995, 35–244). Activities resulting from collective dissent involve the short time mobilisation of masses and pinprick actions, but do not necessarily result in violence against the ruling groups and their material representations. Political iconoclasm, i.e. the destruction and replacement of governmental symbols, is a frequent result of political rupture (Speitkamp 1997; Kolrud/Prusac 2014). It operates as a compensating valve for repressed frustrations and is an important aspect in the ideological backing of social upheaval. Additionally, revolutionary iconography has good chances to be transferred into new symbol systems when a turnover proves to be successful (Lichbach 1995, 93–95). An unmistakeable refusal of previous forms of material culture, a specific new style or the wilful destruction of monuments are indicators for a successful implementation of an alternative social concept.

Direct Action is a last concept related to active forms of collective protests. A direct takeover and the destruction of a disapproved organisation is the final goal (de Cleyre 1912 [2004]). *Direct Action* – rather than being a theory – is an assemblage of tactics to act collectively in order to solve problems of social or political inequality, but likewise to develop alternative forms of social participation[2]. This concept can include non-violent as well as violent actions against dominating groups and their representation. Strikes, civil disobedience, passive resistance, desertion or sabotage are some of the non-violent actions involved. Anarchistic terror acts, destruction of property or armed upheaval fall into the violent category (Graeber 2009). Different from *collective action,* the motivation of *direct action* is ideologically loaded and linked with aspects such as individual freedom, civil rights, political participation and utopic forms of egalitarian social organisation. How far these ideologies based on modern values can be transferred into the past remains open, yet debates on agency in archaeology play along the same lines (Thomas 2000; Dobres/Robb 2000; Saitta 2013).

When returning to the objectives of Bronze Age revolutionary phenomena, apart from the oscillation between different forms of political organisation we have to consider some principal basics – space and time. Social insurrection needs a critical mass of discontent and tension that cannot be solved by spatial segregation. Nomadic societies with a high degree of individual mobility use their spatial flexibility to display social discontent or to avoid conflicts with repressive counterparts (Cribb 1991; Salzman 2004, 14). Sedentary groups in West Africa solve tension by spatial segregation of kinship factions. They construct new hamlets and use distance to display the degree of antagonism (Dafinger 2004, 99–106 fig. 24). Highland societies in Southwest Asia have developed specific forms of small-scale, mobile and autonomous units, a subsistence based on quick growing crops and hunting as well as social practices that allow immediate spatial dispersion under pressure. They escape practically any attempts of influence by a centralised government or taxation (Scott 2009). "Voting with the feet" is one of the most common practices of peasant resistance towards demanding landlords or institutions, and mass exodus is an effective way to deprive oppressors of the opportunity to suppress their subjects (Scott 1985, 32–37; Brumfield 1989, 130). From this point of view, a revolution by larger groups is rather an exception, but as James C. Scott outlines for Southwest Asia highlanders, it is a common phenomenon within the small-scale subunits of society. Revolt or small-scale revolution is in this case an important social mechanism to prevent the emergence of hierarchical systems inside the basic social units, i.e. the villages, and to preserve "[…] egalitarian, Lilliputian republics that were hard to pacify, let alone to govern" (Scott 2009, 215).

The second aspect is chronological. Unbalanced social positions and unequal access to resources can result in the accumulation of frustration and resentment, in particular when sub-groups – elders, elites, and rulers – monopolise access to and earnings from commonly needed resources (D'Altroy/Earle 1985; Earle 1997) and fail to back this ideologically (Miller et al. 1989, 7–17). It takes some time to redefine and consolidate institutions and organisational principles. However, revolutionary turning points represent quick moments. When revolution is the terminal point in a social crisis, then the advance of social constraints as well as the implementation of an alternative system must be the focal point. The chronological replacement of opposing organisational principles are crucial points, whereby even a parallel existence of alternative lifeways within one and the same society cannot be excluded (Holst 2014).

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[2] This is a general definition of *Direct action*. This term is likewise related to the former French left-winged terror organisation *Action Direct* and other anarchistic groups. For links, see Wikipedia keywords: Direkte Aktion/Direct Action/Action Direct.

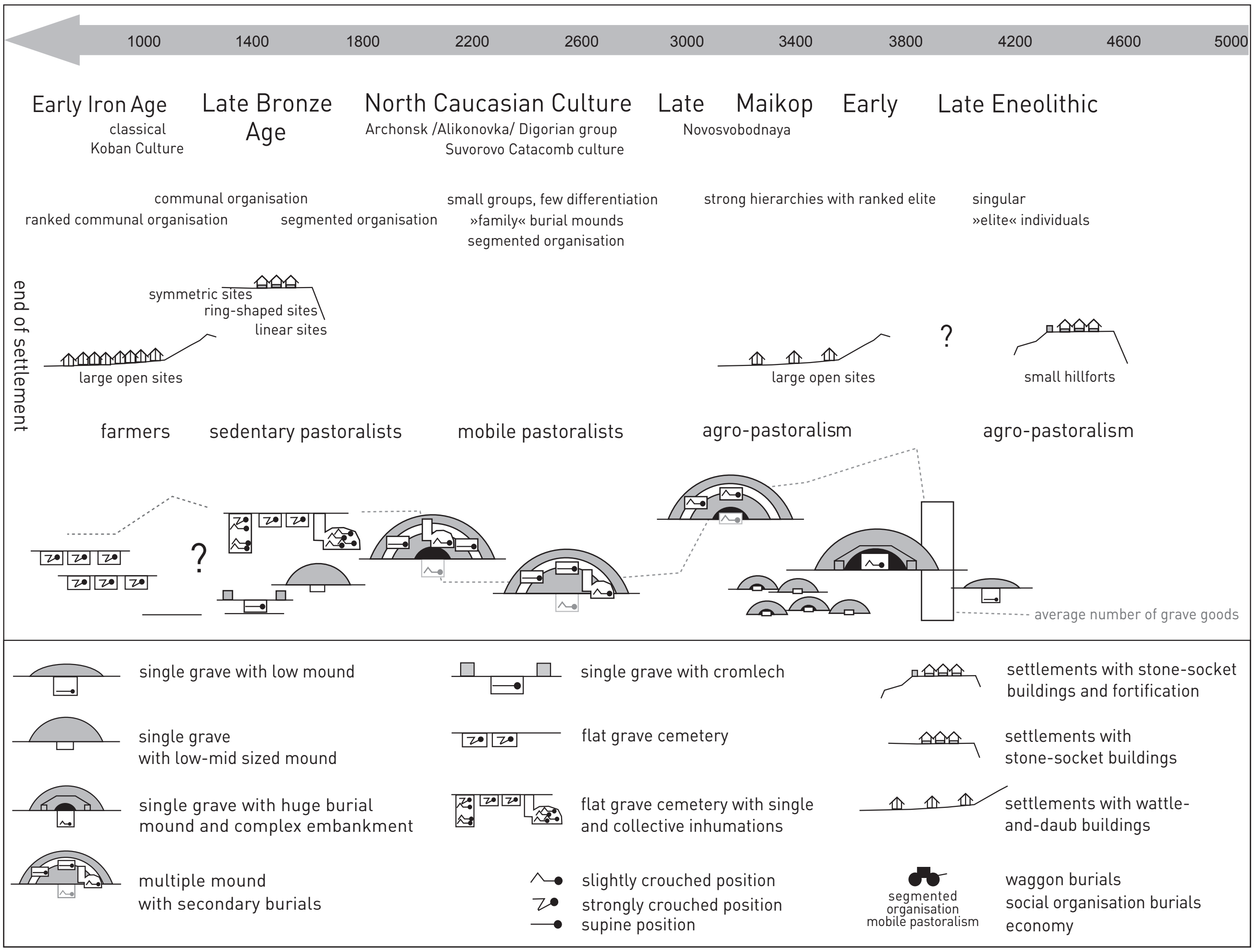

1000
1400
1800
2200
2600
3000
3400
3800
4200
4600
5000
Early Iron Age
classical
Koban Culture
Late Bronze Age
North Caucasian Culture
Archonsk /Alikonovka/ Digorian group
Suvorovo Catacomb culture
Late
Novosvobodnaya
Maikop
Early
Late Eneolithic
communal organisation
ranked communal organisation
segmented organisation
small groups, few differentiation
»family« burial mounds
segmented organisation
strong hierarchies with ranked elite
singular
»elite« individuals
end of settlement
symmetric sites
ring-shaped sites
linear sites
large open sites
large open sites
?
small hillforts
farmers
sedentary pastoralists
mobile pastoralists
agro-pastoralism
agro-pastoralism
?
average number of grave goods
single grave with low mound
single grave
with low-mid sized mound
single grave with huge burial
mound and complex embankment
multiple mound
with secondary burials
single grave with cromlech
flat grave cemetery
flat grave cemetery with single
and collective inhumations
slightly crouched position
strongly crouched position
supine position
settlements with stone-socket
buildings and fortification
settlements with
stone-socket buildings
settlements with wattle-
and-daub buildings
segmented
organisation
mobile pastoralism
waggon burials
social organisation burials
economy

Fig. 2. General outline of the North Caucasian Bronze Age.

THE NORTH CAUCASIAN BRONZE AGE – BACKING THE CASE STUDY

The North Caucasian Bronze Age (**Fig. 2**) was an epoch that repeatedly witnessed fundamental social and economic changes. This is chiefly visible in changing intensities of monument building and material culture related to burial practices. Indicators for the emergence of social and economic inequality, resulting in an elite class, are apparent for the first time during the 4th millennium BC during the Early Bronze Age (Hansen 2010; Kohl/Trifonov 2013). The Majkop phenomenon with its splendid graves full of precious goods that were placed in enormous burial mounds emerged in a setting of communities that only some centuries before had adopted a mixed agricultural economy and a permanent settlement system. Large settlements are present, but the details of these sites are still largely unknown (Rezepkin/Lyonet 2007). The burial monuments of this epoch were erected for singular individuals and indicate a strong hierarchical ranking with a type of princely burial at the top (Kohl 2009; Reinhold 2012). Material culture was essential for the display of social personae, and indications for craft specialisation as well as long-distance trade networks can be read from the archaeological sources.

In the following 3rd millennium BC, the vibrant Majkop culture fragmented into smaller, much more regional subunits. The Middle Bronze Age is characterised by a dichotomy of

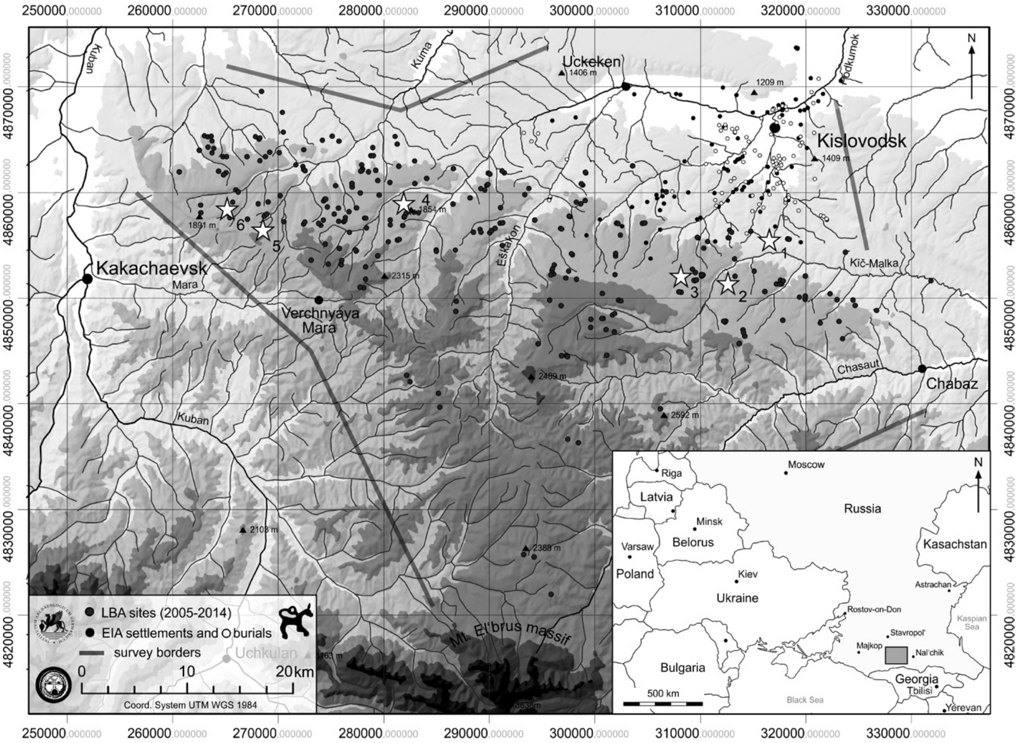

Uckeken
Kislovodsk
Kakachaevsk
Mara
Verchnyaya Mara
Kuban
Kuma
Eshkakon
Podkumok
Kič-Malka
Chasaut
Chabaz
Mt. El'brus massif
Uchkulan
1406 m
1209 m
1409 m
1891 m
1854 m
2315 m
2489 m
2592 m
2108 m
2388 m
1
2
3
4
5
6
LBA sites (2005-2014)
EIA settlements and ○ burials
survey borders
0
10
20 km
Coord. System UTM WGS 1984
N
Moscow
Riga
Latvia
Minsk
Belorus
Varsaw
Poland
Russia
Kiev
Ukraine
Kasachstan
Astrachan
Rostov-on-Don
Stavropol'
Majkop
Nal'chik
Kaspian Sea
Bulgaria
Black Sea
Georgia
Tbilisi
Yerevan
500 km
250000
260000
270000
280000
290000
300000
310000
320000
330000
4870000
4860000
4850000
4840000
4830000
4820000

Fig. 3. The general localisation of the research area and the distribution of LBA and EIA sites in the wider Kislovodsk area.

groups exploring the steppes, such as the several variants of the Catacomb culture formation and communities living in piedmont and mountain environments – the North Caucasian cultures. In both cultural spheres, autonomous groups materialise in thousands of burial mounds all over the area. They represent small-scale communities that were increasingly involved in mobile lifeways and a predominantly pastoral economy. From now on until the second quarter of the 2nd millennium BC, practically no settlements are known. There is, however, clear evidence for broadening human lifescapes. Mounds are found all over the steppe, in the piedmonts, and even in high altitude mountains. This might coincide with an increase of population, but more likely reflects the dispersal of communities and a social fragmentation into small-scale family or tribal units. The autonomous and flexible mode of life is well echoed in a reduced and equalised set of objects in graves. Prestigious items, such as stone battle axes, are rare, but high craftsmanship – particularly in metallurgy – is obvious.

First tendencies towards a more settled lifestyle in the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC mark the end of this epoch. Small settlements with houses including storage pits for meat and agricultural products emerge (Lopan/ Maslov 1997). In the high mountain valleys, large cemeteries reflect similar tendencies. There is, however, no indication for permanently settled communities until the beginning of the Late Bronze Age at about 1700 BC. Our case study from the North Caucasian high mountain plateaus south of the spa of Kislovodsk (**Fig. 3**) is representative for the transformation from a mobile pastoral to a fully sedentary lifestyle associated with large villages of farmers. The social transformations accompanying this change are studied below under the perspective of emerging social inequality and collective counteraction.

It is important to note that the general process took place in changing settings. Middle Bronze Age pastoralists opened up the high altitude pastures near Kislovodsk for seasonal use as early as the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC. The same high altitudes above 1600 m a.s.l witnessed the establishment of first settlements in a semi-permanent or permanent mode from the 18th/17th century BC onwards (Reinhold et al. 2007; Reinhold et al. 2017). This might have been a sacrifice to the pastoral economy, where open landscapes are preferred. But due to a combined mountain agricultural system (*Almwirtschaft*), pastoral constraints decreased in the course of the following millennium, and mountain dwellers had the chance to shift their habitat into the valleys. They did not implement this until the turn of the 1st millennium BC in the beginning Early Iron Age. In the new surroundings, they entirely transformed their subsistence towards intensive agriculture (Korobov/Borisov 2013; Knipper et al. 2018). They continued, however, the strongly regulated, corporative mode of social relations developed in the 14th century BC from their mountain homelands (Reinhold 2012).

ARCHITECTURE AND THE SOCIAL CONSTITUTION OF SPACE

Architecture is one of the most influential aspects of material culture surrounding any human being. Built environment is manifold and various levels of meaning are materialized in architecture (Reinhold 2017a; Reinhold 2017b). Houses are simultaneously a means of communication and social terrain. Primary functions, such as shelter, accommodation or space for economic activities, are balanced by spiritual aspects and the ability to create psychological attachment, i.e. a "home" (Bourdier/Minh-ha 2011). The intended use of architecture to regulate social relations in favour of elites is not a modern invention, but rather a prevailing phenomenon (Maran 2006; Joerges 1999). Most prehistoric architecture is built as vernacular architecture without professional builders based on socially approved templates by future dwellers and their auxiliaries (Oliver 1989). Collective building guarantees the consent of assisting community members that do not belong to the later inhabitants. Cooperation in building new houses allows the simultaneous negotiation of the spatiality of existing and new social terrains. It forms new neighbourhoods for good or for worse.

Control of space is therefore essential in the management of social relations. Like the planning, organisation and execution of building processes, decisions on the spatial setting of a building in villages is deeply rooted in the social relations of the cohabitant community (Frazer 1968; Rapoport 1982; Bourdier/Minh-ha 2011, 17–58; Reinhold 2017a). The architecture constructed in the mountains south of Kislovodsk from the 18th/17th century BC onwards is a first rate source to discuss the manipulation of space, promoting social dissociation and the following counteractions to prevent the formation of a distinctive elite. The constructions include residential buildings and economic architecture such as enclosures for herds. Analysing the structure, size and composition of architecture enables the discussion of the size, organisation and economic potential of communities at sites with varying organisational principles.

SEGMENTED AND *COMMUNAL MODE* OF LIVING – IDEOLOGIES BUILT IN STONE

With regard to architecture, the most fundamental transformation from the Middle to the Late Bronze and then to the Early Iron Age was the permanent positioning of dwellings in space. Remarkably similar and quickly constructed stone-built dwellings, clustered in small or mid-sized settlements, replaced the invisible domestic architecture of more than a millennium before (Reinhold 2017b). The architectonic sequences involved in this process are comprised of a succession of small settlements with singular houses placed in a linear formation side-by-side, oval ring-shaped configurations, cohesive settlement layouts with connected buildings flanking a central place and row-configurations of houses in large settlements (Reinhold 2017a; Reinhold 2017b) (**Fig. 4**). Each of these configurations has its own time frame, and its own specific architectural components. At the end of the third stage, the communities moved from high altitude locations into the valleys. We will focus on one important point in this

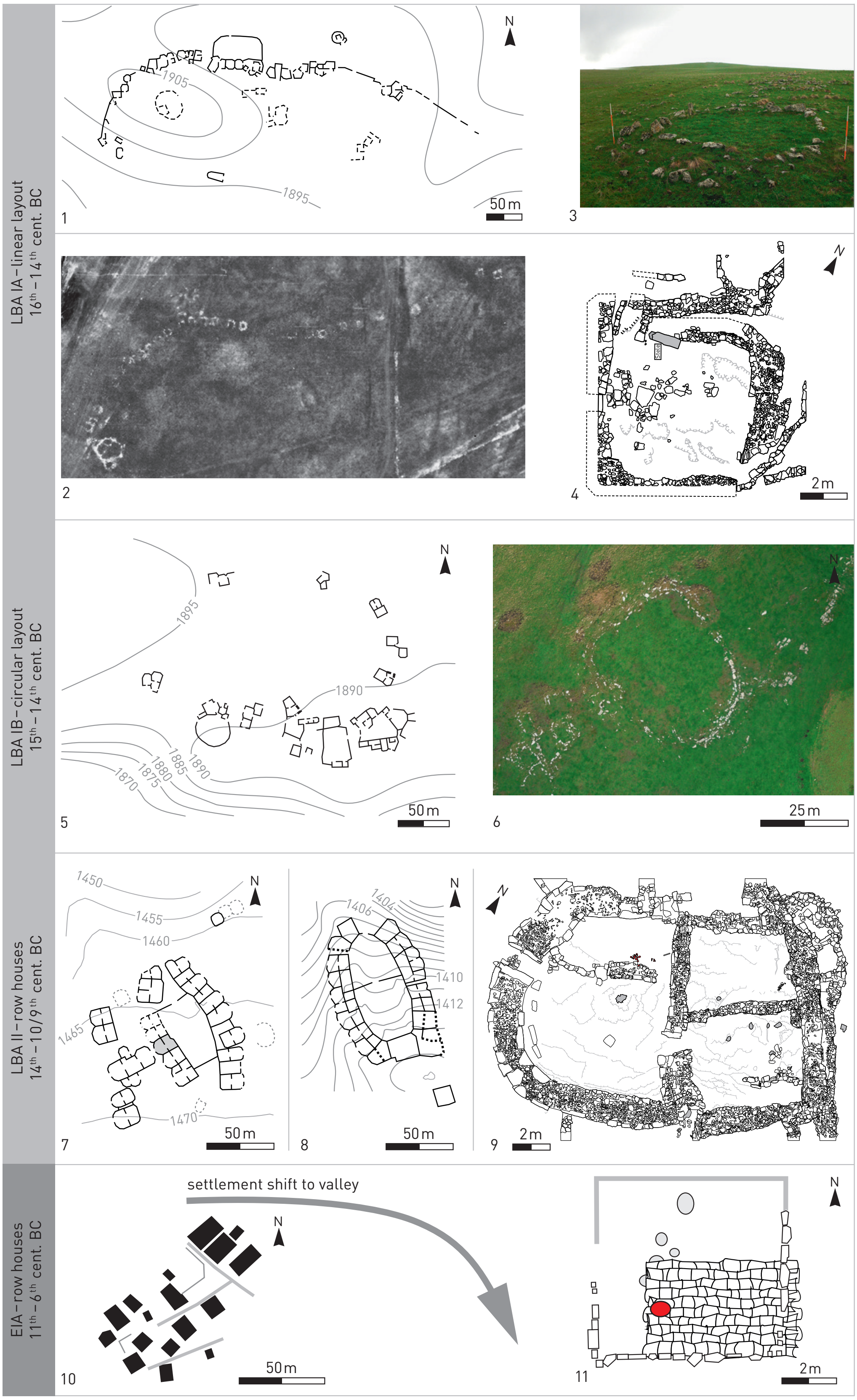

LBA IA–linear layout
16th–14th cent. BC
N
1905
1895
50 m
1
3
2
N
2 m
4
LBA IB–circular layout
15th–14th cent. BC
N
1895
1890
1890
1885
1880
1875
1870
50 m
5
N
25 m
6
LBA II–row houses
14th–10/9th cent. BC
1450
1455
1460
1465
1470
N
50 m
7
1404
1406
1410
1412
N
50 m
8
N
2 m
9
EIA–row houses
11th–6th cent. BC
settlement shift to valley
N
50 m
10
N
2 m
11

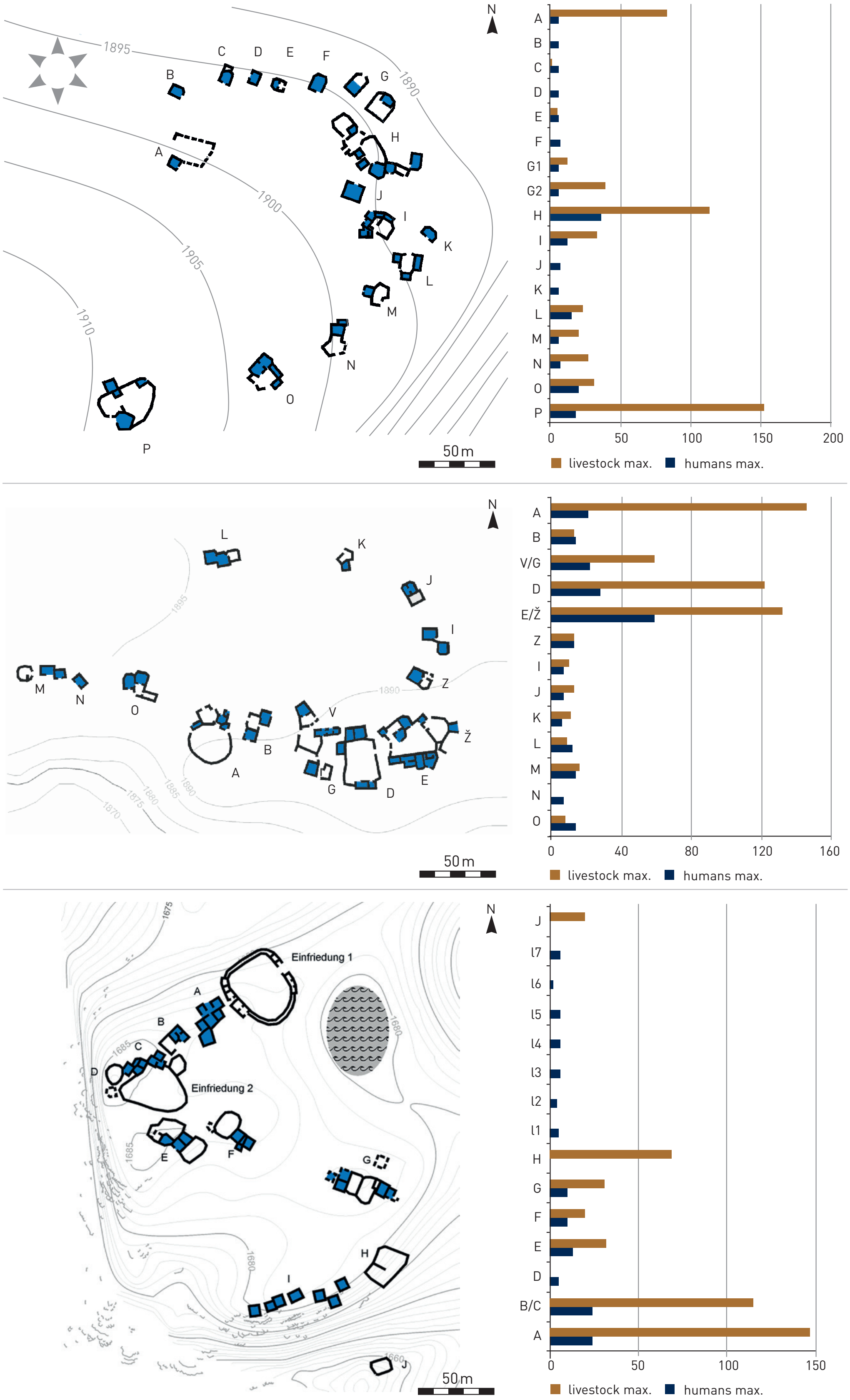
Fig. 4. The LBA sequence of settlement layouts and house forms. 1: Pokunsyrt 8; 2: Pokunsyrt 39; 3: house at Pokunsyrt 37; 4: excavated house 23 at Kabardinka 2; 5: Tamchibashi 2; 6: houses and enclosure at Levoberezhnaja Kichmalka 1; 7: Kabardinka 2; 8: Kabardinka 3; 9: excavated house 14 at Kabardinka 2; 10: schematized plan of EIA settlement Serzhen Jurt' (Chechnja); 11: schematised EIA house type according to several sites in Kislovosk.

sequence that can be dated to the mid-2nd millennium BC. It is the transition from the open ring-shaped to the cohesive settlement layouts. These modes develop partly in a chronological sequence, but differ primarily according to the general spatial setting, and in the size and shape of construction. Both variations represent entirely different conceptions of dwelling and the social organisation of neighbourhoods.

The first mode of dwelling represents a *segmented* organisation of habitation. The sites include isolated houses with a square ground plan, on the one hand, and agglomerated units with four to six rooms of the same shape and size as the single houses on the other (**Fig. 5**). The basic square room type was used for a modular enlargement of floor space in residential buildings. Modular buildings could accommodate more inhabitants and in this sense indicate the growth of some of the households (Naroll 1962; Chamberlain 2006, 52). These buildings certainly also differed in visual appearance from the small single houses. Modular houses are regularly accompanied by enclosures for livestock. In some cases, possibly even stables had been added to the corals (Reinhold et al. 2017). The overall size of the corals roughly correlates to the number of agglomerated rooms. At the site of Pravoberezhnaya Kichmalka 1, modular houses can be differentiated in double-compounds sharing one side of the houses, each with a mid-size enclosure and some small additional rooms (Fig. 5.3) and extended formations built of up to six rooms. These are accompanied by large enclosures of up to 60 meters diameter. Such enclosures could hold up to 150 head of cattle (Fig. 5.3), a sum surely representing enormous wealth in a society based on pastoralism. When an increase of floor space indeed correlated to extended households, these must have had significantly more economic potential than the smaller ones. Human labour is one of the most important forms of capital in pre-modern societies; livestock is another (Earle 1997). Increased labour capacities are not only able to manage more livestock, but similarly can be employed in various activities, among this building or the production of commodities. Stone enclosures and stables efficiently shelter livestock from predators and weather. At the same time, they permit herding management and thus increase the yields associated with animals and their by-products (Ebersbach 2002, 137–164).

The ring-shaped aggregate of the settlement represents a community focused on one common centre. Within this communal setting, the placement of single or modular houses with or without corals, however, was constituted by negotiating social divergences. In all investigated sites organised with this concept, modular houses with enclosures are found in specific segments of the ring. Thus, larger households could not only manage to integrate their enclosures, i.e. include additional edifices and occupy space in the settlement composition in general, but could also monopolise distinct areas. The segregated spatial pattern and the size of the modular houses therefore not only reflect an economic differentiation between larger, more potent households and smaller units without solid accommodations for animals. It similarly reveals the manipulation of space in favour of the larger households, their builders and inhabitants. Tensions can be anticipated not only between these economically heterogeneous households, but also within the larger group of co-inhabitants in the larger households, even among kinship members. Questions of competence in decision-making, ownership, intra-household ranking or inheritance emerge. When internal contradictions produce subordinate groups within a kinship collective, the community as a whole is targeted (Cole/Wolf 1995, 229–264). Frustrated household members as well as members of inferior households are latent groups likely to oppose the status quo, openly or not. Elites in *status nascendi* are certainly fragile, provoke and possibly cannot withstand resistance. Without a coherent ideology legitimating the emerging social differentiation, a possible ground is prepared for alternative modes of spatial and social organisation principles.

The second spatial organisation of settlements is *communal* or *cellular*. This type of site represents a complex composition of individual but identical houses built in a symmetrical oval around a central place (**Fig. 6**). This form of village planning emerged in the 14th century BC and lasted until the abandonment of the high altitude plateaus at the turn of the 10th to 9th century BC. It is the longest lasting and the


N
1895
1890
1900
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1910
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
M
N
O
P
50 m
A
B
C
D
E
F
G1
G2
H
I
J
K
L
M
N
O
P
0
50
100
150
200
livestock max.
humans max.
N
L
K
J
I
Z
M
N
O
A
B
V
G
D
E
Ž
1895
1890
1880
1885
1880
1875
1870
50 m
A
B
V/G
D
E/Ž
Z
I
J
K
L
M
N
O
0
40
80
120
160
livestock max.
humans max.
N
1675
1680
1685
1680
1660
Einfriedung 1
Einfriedung 2
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
50 m
J
I7
I6
I5
I4
I3
I2
I1
H
G
F
E
D
B/C
A
0
50
100
150
livestock max.
humans max.

Fig. 5. Ring-shaped *segmented* sites; probable inhabitants and herds. 1:Tamsamesu 1; 2:Tamchibashi 2; 3: Pravoberezhnaja Kichmalka 1.

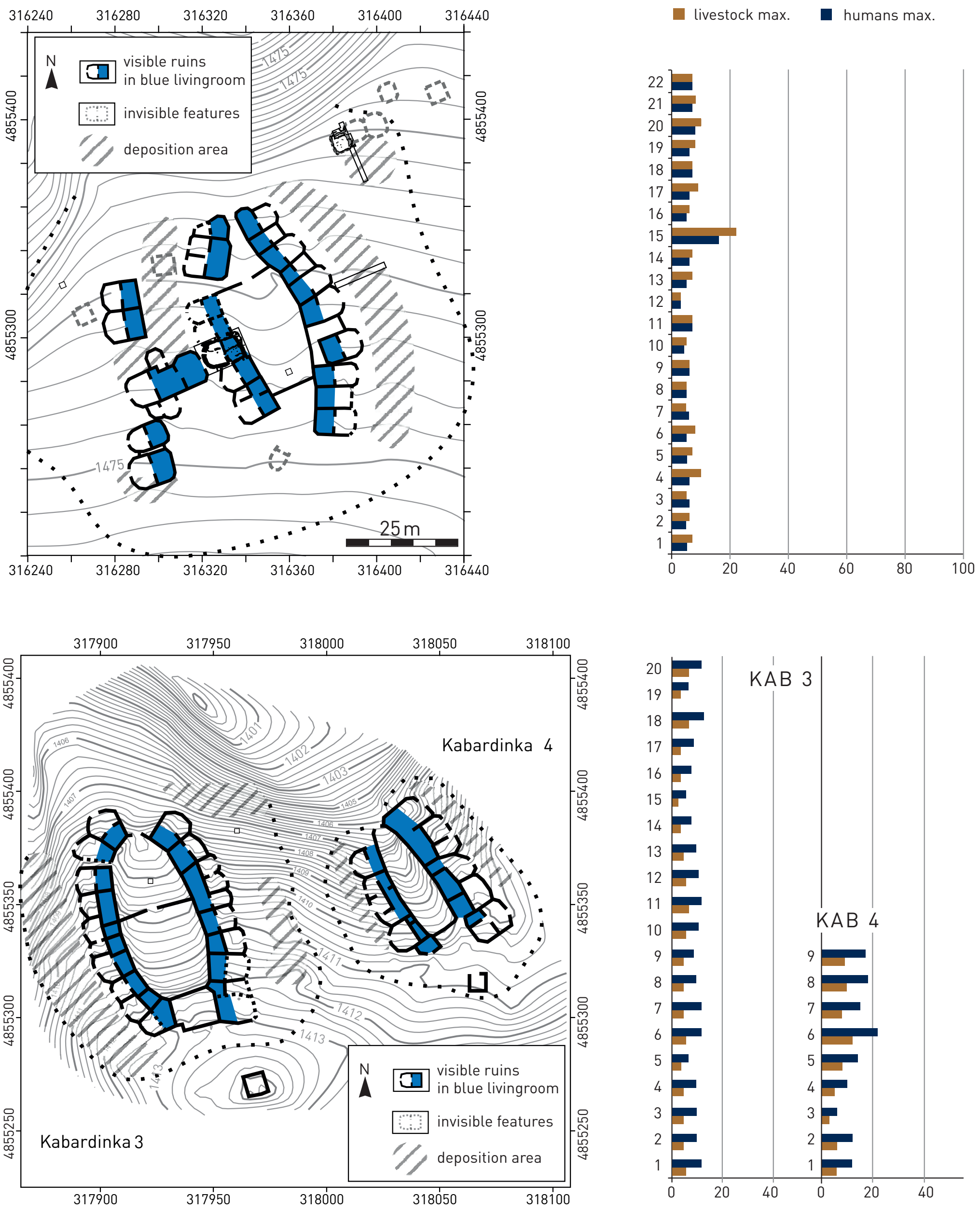
316240
316280
316320
316360
316400
316440
4855400
4855300
N
visible ruins
in blue livingroom
invisible features
deposition area
1475
25 m
livestock max.
humans max.
22
21
20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
20
40
60
80
100
317900
317950
318000
318050
318100
4855400
4855350
4855300
4855250
Kabardinka 4
Kabardinka 3
KAB 3
KAB 4

Fig. 6. Symmetrical *communal* sites; probable inhabitants and herds. 1: Kabardinka 2 1; 2: Kabardinka 3–4.

most numerous settlement layout in the research area (Reinhold 2017a; Reinhold 2017b) (**Fig. 7**). The basic architectural component of these sites is represented by a large double-room house with a massive stone socket for log constructions. Overall floor space measures from 90–150 m². Microbiological soil analysis and excavation verified different activity patterns within the houses (Peters et al. 2014; Reinhold et al. 2017). The rooms bordering the central place functioned as habitation areas. However, no direct access to the places via doors has been found (Reinhold 2010). The external rooms accommodated livestock, most probably in winter, and were used for economic activities. Nearly all houses have identical ground plans, size and building techniques. They are best represented at the sites of Kabradinka 2, 3 and 4 (Fig. 6), but are found in analogous sizes and form everywhere. Formal similarities are striking. They are repeated by nearly identical activity patterns documented

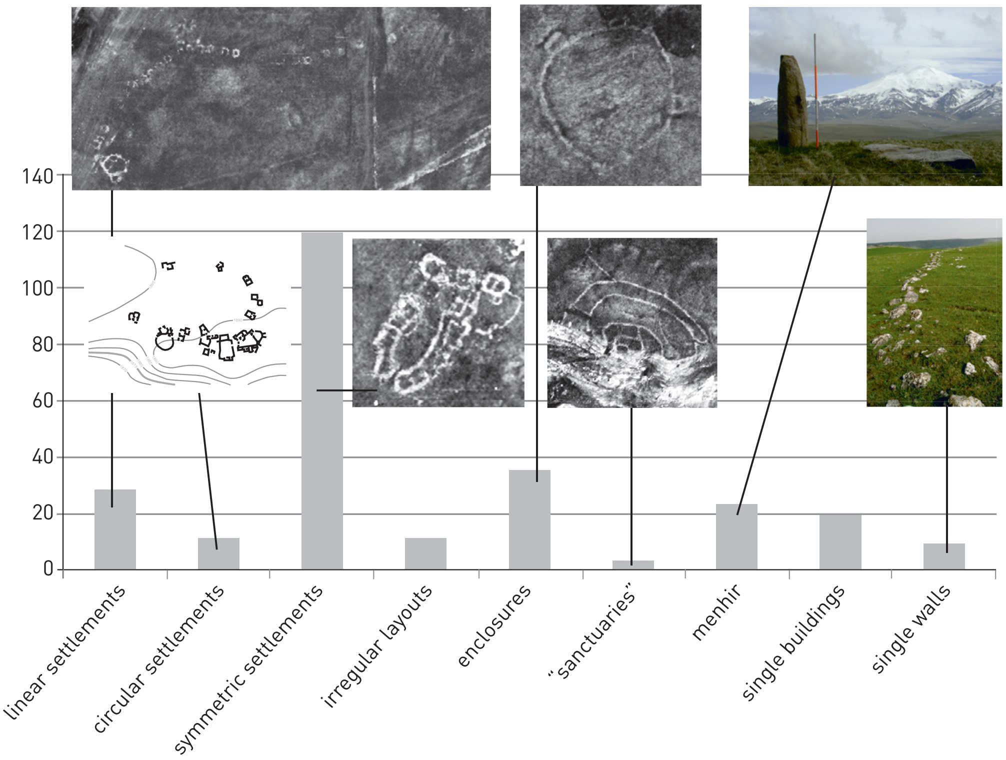

Fig. 7. Statistics of sites at the high altitude plateaus.

in soil analysis and geophysical prospection (Reinhold 2017a, fig. 2). The inhabitants of these houses were not only equal in numbers; they apparently used their houses in nearly identical ways. Economic potential with regard to livestock was likewise equalized. The external rooms were more or less equal in size and therefore similar numbers of animals could be over-wintered indoors.

The residential rooms resemble the floor space of the single houses of the settlement concept mentioned before. The adjustment of floor space indicates a return to the basic household unit. This basic unit, however, now lived in a multi-functional house with a comparable number of residents and economic resources, i.e. animals. While the singular social components, i.e. the singular households, had their autonomous compartments, standardization and reduced spatial distance affected all other aspects of dwelling (Reinhold 2010; 2016a). Life in such a settlement had been entirely communal, each house resembling an equal cell of a whole organism. This cellular conception can be scaled up to the landscape level, since all settlements of the respective type resemble each other closely. They are situated at regular distances, respecting each other's core territories, but already had to regulate wider territories at distances of 1.5–2 km (Reinhold 2011; Reinhold et al. 2017).

Living closely together with a large quantity of animals integrated directly into the human lifescape concerned social practices at various levels (Reinhold 2017b; Armstrong Oma 2013 for animal-human relations). Noise, restrictions in movements, hygiene problems and other numerous aspects of every-day practices had to be dealt with and negotiated much more frequently than before. No intermediate space between houses or compounds could be used for individual activities and thus there was no spatial distance to guarantee some kind of private sphere. Life in a site such as Kabardinka 2 (Fig. 6.1) was not only moulded by cellular spatiality in equal shares. It must have been rooted deeply in communal agreements on actual social practices, consigning much of each individual's sovereignty – collective action and cooperation at its best (Carballo 2013).

FROM *SEGMENTED* TO *COMMUNAL* – A REVOLUTION?

A comparison of spatial organisation principals of settlements exposes the different balances of household sizes and economic capabilities in the *segmented* versus the *communal* or *cellular* organised settlements (Fig. 6–7). Seen as a whole, the overall economic capability of a ring-shaped site is quite higher than that of an average symmetric site with a central place, despite the fact that population numbers per site do not differ significantly. From a global perspective, each of the settlements with an unbalanced spatiality had a higher overall capital capacity than the balanced ones. We cannot identify the legal constructions underlying these communities, yet the unequal sizes of herds, represented by the variation in enclosure size, required different shares in pastures and hay-land. Larger households also needed more territory for cultivation, even if it is still not clear, what share of the diet of the mountain dwellers was contributed by agricultural activity (Knipper et al. 2018). Property conflicts or the attempt to enlarge contingents in basic common resources – common-pool or individually managed – must be expected in such a configuration. The classical collective action dilemma arises, where the requirements of individual households must conflict with communal interests (Ostrom 1990, in particular 58–68 for a debate on pastoral commons).

Until now, the chronological details and the quantities of the two settlement conceptions have not been considered. Regarding chronology, both designs appear to exhibit a successive relationship to each other to some degree: the ring-shaped or *segmented* sites dating earlier during the 15th/14th century BC, the symmetrical or *communal* sites dating later from the 14th to the 10th/9th century BC. This would argue for a direct chronological sequence. Although ring-shaped settlements, however, are not found everywhere, a direct succession of linear and symmetric sites exists as well, e.g., in Kabardinka 2 (Fig. 6.1) or in Pokunsyrt 10/11. In Kabardinka, the linear-symmetric sequence is dated by a series of stratified radiocarbon dates. The *segmented* mode of life, therefore, is rather a local development, yet such sites are found all over the case-study area. From this perspective, it is obvious that during the 15th century BC the linear form of camp-like habitation was replaced by a development to reorganise the form of cohabitation. Some communities continued in linear, flexible configurations, others developed a secluded way of life inclusive the emergence of economic and social inequality (Reinhold 2017a). Nevertheless, the local sequences reflect fundamental transformations in the organisation of space, and reveal a shift towards a communal way of life in the course of time. This also became extremely attractive for more conservative groups.

The *communal* lifestyle was extremely successful. With the 14th/13th century, linear configurations disappear and symmetric, communally organised sites boomed significantly. The number of sites more than tripled after the advent of the symmetric sites (Fig. 7). In some micro-regions, two linear sites were followed by two small ring-shaped ones but were then replaced by three much larger symmetric sites (Ransyrt Plateau). In other areas, one linear site was followed by five symmetric sites (Kichi Balyk sites) (Reinhold et al. 2017). An overall number of about 420–450 houses/rooms is counted for the linear and 95–100 for the ring-shaped sites. They are replaced by more than 1500 houses in the symmetric sites. Radiocarbon series at five symmetric sites from various locations suggest that most symmetric settlements were built in a rather short period at the turn of the 14th/13th century BC and remained in use for about 200–300 years. The detailed analysis of the building processes of these sites moreover advocates a quick succession of house building in one collective act with a well-developed construction plan. Stone sockets are interlinked and building seams demonstrate the contemporaneous construction of neighbouring buildings (Reinhold 2017a, fig. 11). The standardised form of houses and settlements in this way refers to pre-existing templates, which were more or less strictly followed. Similar strategies lately discussed for cooperative building practices in Bronze Age barrows are thus found in North Caucasian domestic architecture (Holst/Rasmussen 2012, 260–263; 270–275). The reflection of a pre-planned and collectively executed idea about how a community should live is visible in the standardised houses of the symmetric settlements. These sites can be interpreted as the realised *utopia* of an egalitarian lifestyle. At the same time, they suggest an intended counter-position to the earlier process of social differentiation present in the *segmented* sites. But was this development a revolution?

None of the ring-shaped sites visited show any evidence of violent destruction. The stone architecture is usually well-preserved and does not reveal an active displacement of stones. The site of Pravoberezhnaya Kichmalka 1 was fully investigated by geophysics using a Caesium-proton magnetometer and several test pits have been dug (Reinhold et al. 2017). None indicate a possible destruction by fire. Instead of a violent destruction, the sites seemed to have been abandoned quickly at the same time when the alternative mode of habitation was established. *Direct Action* in a non-violent form, confronting the emergence of social inequality, would be a plausible scenario. "Voting with the feet", i.e. a constant drain of people from the sites with would-be elites demanding larger shares of the commonly available resources in the direction of places with a more egalitarian lifestyle, would have filled the new sites quite quickly. The distances between the old and the new sites are not too great so that a flow of information about this new *utopia* is probable and bandwagon effects could be at the bottom of the success of the new way of life (Lichbach 1995, 23–24; 111–119).

The change from one system to the other obviously happened quickly in the areas where economically unbalanced systems developed. But the system was also attractive in micro-regions without an intermediate stage. The fundamental transformation of the ideas ruling co-habitation and the strictness of the later style of life support the hypothesis of a convincing new ideology focusing on equality, which was successfully implemented in a short time. The return to the core-household as a basic component in the *communal* sites might be an indication that socially disadvantaged groups from the earlier sites had been the initiators of the new ideology. The general reduction of economic capacities between *segmented* and *communally* organised sites backs this impression. The loss of capacity would have inflicted larger households negatively, but the smaller households certainly benefited (see Lichbach 1995, 36–50 on cost/benefit ratios). Another deliberate counteraction to future social disparity might have been the strict regulation of settlement growth by defining the size of a settlement via the central place before domestic buildings were erected. This logic is evident in sites that have not been finished. Cutting the places in the bedrock inalterably determined the number of houses that could be built adjacent to those places in the anticipated symmetric layout (Reinhold et al. 2017). With this planning mechanism and the strict settlement layout, an irregular growth of a site or the addition of larger house units was nearly impossible.

Despite the low amount of excavated objects from ring-shaped sites, an increase of geometric decoration with a very expressive style is visible in the younger parts of the ceramic sequences. The frequency of geometrically decorated vessels at Kabardinka 2 increases remarkably between the linear and the symmetric phase of the site. Specific ornaments became emblematic and are found at nearly all neighbouring sites. It is too early to go into the details of this aspect of material culture. Yet, the shift towards communal organisation probably directed the visual representation of the new communities to express some kinds of corporate identities.

CONCLUSION

Summing up the evidence, the conceptual sequence of an emerging elite followed by a nearly egalitarian lifestyle visible in the organisation of social space in the North Caucasian Late Bronze Age represents a rare case study of a quick succession of an opposing organisation concept. Today, we would read such a process as the representation of a revolutionary change, replacing a hierarchical system with a communal, egalitarian one. However, no signs of direct violence at the end of the ring-shaped sites have been found thus far. In the list of criteria characterising revolution, the lack of violent turmoil is a rather weak point (EISENSTADT 1982; LICHBACH 1995). On the other hand, when revolution is defined as the quick and active implementation of an antithetic concept of social organisation, economic redistribution and a transformation of the internal forms of government backed by a new symbolism, then the 15th/14th century BC indeed witnessed a revolution in the Caucasian mountain communities. One can only speculate if the new, strongly formalised lifestyle was in fact an outcome, which the constitutional groups anticipated. It could have been likewise a result that Mark I. Lichbach termed the "pathologies of collective action": an oppressive system replacing a demanding elite with a communal body of decision-making, but simultaneously implementing a strict regime of social control fostered by the close neighbourhoods. How the prehistoric inhabitants regarded the reduction of their individual freedom and the enforcement of a collective lifestyle remains open. It is intriguing, however, that this lifestyle remained unaltered for the next 300 years. When the settlement system shifted to the valleys and adopted a new economic basis with intensive agriculture (KORBOV/BORISOV 2013; KNIPPER et al. 2018), the principal idea of preventing the emergence of elites or at least their display in settlement structure or burial equipment was transferred into the new era virtually unchanged (REINHOLD 2012; 2017a).

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CONTESTED POWER: IRON AGE SOCIETIES AGAINST THE STATE?

> *"Social reality is a contradictory reality. This follows from the conception of social structure as a unity of opposites and from differences of interests between individual agents and groups. Contradiction and conflict of interests provide an initial basis for an understanding of change, domination and legitimation of the social order"*
> (Tilley 1982, 37).

ABSTRACT

Throughout ancient Eurasia, there are several cases where it is not possible to speak of a linear, continuous and gradual evolution over the course of protohistory from more decentralised and egalitarian forms to others that were more centralised and hierarchical. Although on a long-term perspective a trend towards growing socio-economic complexity can be seen, this was neither a teleological nor a linear process. Instead, it included cycles of regression, crisis, reduced hierarchisation and demographic decrease. Moreover, it must be assumed that the changes did not always take place peacefully and that internal or external conflict was often involved. The aim of this contribution is to approach the topic of Iron Age conflict by looking at the changing cycles of centralisation and decentralisation that took place during the first millennium BC, and which were at least partly linked to dialectical tensions within and between communities.

KEYWORDS
Power, Conflict, Centralisation, Decentralisation, Migrations.

RISE AND FALL OF THE EARLY IRON AGE *FÜRSTENSITZE*

The genesis of large fortified central places is one of the most important phenomena in later European prehistory (Fernández-Götz/Krausse 2016; Fernández-Götz et al. 2014; Sievers/Schönfelder 2012). In this paper, I will approach the topic of conflict, and in particular internal tensions, from the point of view of Iron Age centralisation and urbanisation processes. One of the most important advances made by research in recent decades has been the recognition of several changing and dynamic cycles of centralisation and decentralisation during the 1st millennium BC so that a model of unilinear evolution cannot be sustained (Collis 2014; Fernández-Götz 2014a; Fernández-Götz 2017; Krausse 2008a; Salač 2012). These changing processes were at least partly linked to dialectical tensions within and between communities.

Between the 7th and the 5th centuries BC, a whole series of centres of power, in most cases described with the German term *Fürstensitze* ('princely sites'), developed in the region north of the Alps. These sites, among which the Heuneburg, Mont Lassois, Bourges, Hohenasperg, Ipf, Glauberg or Závist stand out, stretch across an area from Central France in the west to Bohemia in the east (Krausse 2008b; 2010) (**Fig. 1**). They are testimony to a process of differentiation and hierarchisation in the pattern of settlement that was at the same time both an expression and a catalyst for increasing social inequality (Brun/Chaume 2013; Fernández-Götz/Krausse 2013). To quote only two of the most spectacular examples, recent research has shown that the entire settlement of the Heuneburg (citadel, lower

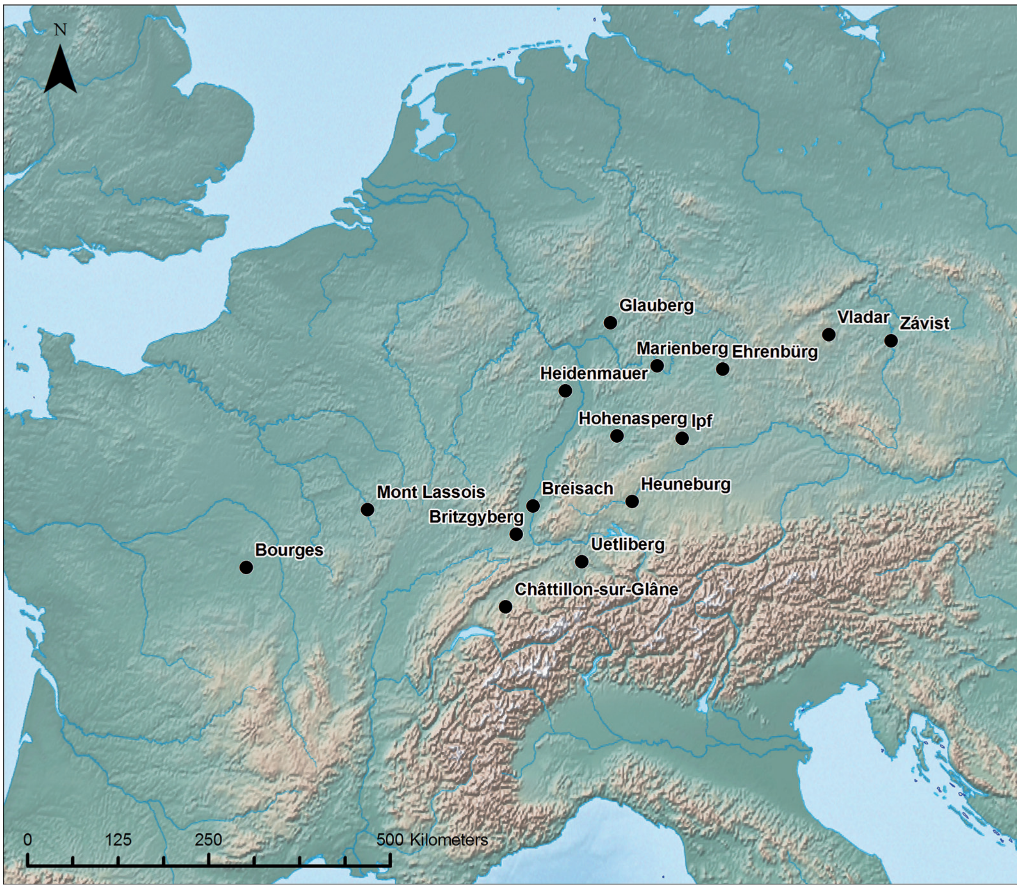
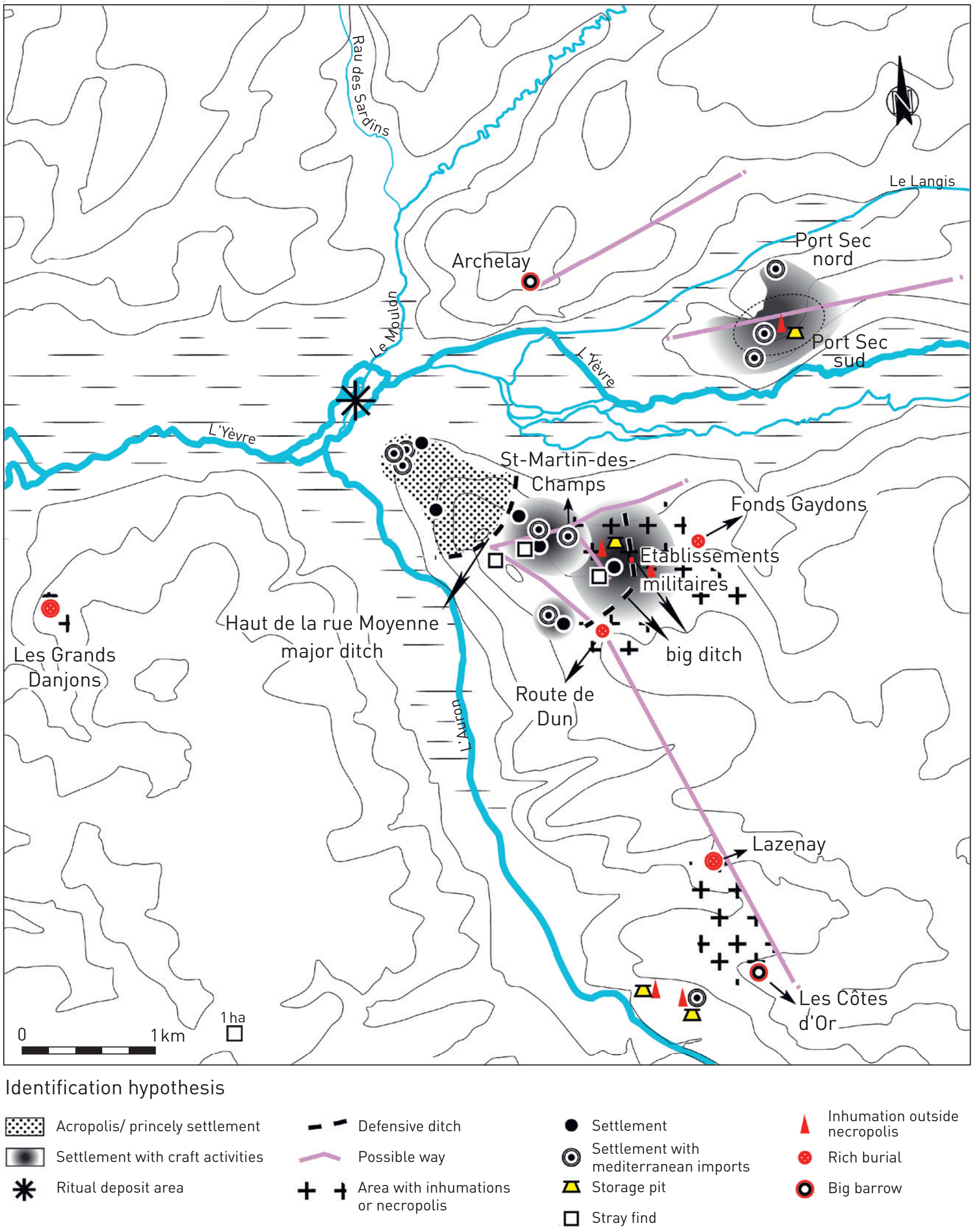


Fig. 1. Towards Centralisation (1): Main centres of power from the 7th to the 5th centuries BC in the region directly north of the Alps (after Fernández-Götz/Krausse 2013).

town and outer settlement) encompassed an area of ca. 100 hectares during the mudbrick wall phase, with an estimated population of around 5,000 inhabitants (Fernández-Götz 2014b; Krausse/Fernández-Götz 2012; Kurz 2010), and in the case of Bourges, the whole complex covered several hundred hectares in the 5th century BC (Augier et al. 2012; Milcent 2007; 2014) (**Fig. 2**). With regard to the 'social typologies' that have been defined by authors such as Allen W. Johnson and Timothy Earle (2000), the communities which were established around centres of power such as the Heuneburg, Hohenasperg, Mont Lassois or Bourges can best be placed at the transition from complex chiefdoms to early states (Fernández-Götz/Krausse 2013; Ralston 2010).

The settlements named above could have constituted the focal points of different entities that might have maintained relations of the type proposed in the peer polity interaction model (Renfrew/Cherry 1986), as also suggested by their spatial distribution. Monumental fortifications, profane, sacred and funerary architecture, artisanal quarters and Mediterranean imports all bear testimony to the manifold functions of such sites. Their fortificational and symbol-laden significance is manifested in the imposing defences with banks, ditches, walls and gates found, for example, at the Heuneburg and Mont Lassois. The identification of cemeteries with elite burials in the environs of the central places (e.g. Hohmichele, Giessübel-Talhau, Hochdorf, Kleinaspergle, Sainte-Colombe or Vix) suggests that they assumed political and administrative functions. Moreover, both the monumental sanctuary discovered at Závist and a number of structures related to ancestor worship, such as the *heroon* and the 350 m long processional way at the Glauberg or the enclosure of Vix 'Les Herbues' at Mont Lassois, are evidence for religious and cult aspects. Finally, artisanal and technical as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L'Yèvre
St-Martin-des-
Champs
Fonds Gaydons
Etablissements
militaires
Les Grands
Danjons
Haut de la rue Moyenne
major ditch
big ditch
Route de
Dun
L'Auron
Lazenay
Les Côtes
d'Or
0
1 km
1 ha
Identification hypothesis
Acropolis/ princely settlement
Settlement with craft activities
Ritual deposit area
Defensive ditch
Possible way
Area with inhumations
or necropolis
Settlement
Settlement with
mediterranean imports
Storage pit
Stray find
Inhumation outside
necropolis
Rich burial
Big barrow

Fig. 2. The agglomeration of Bourges/*Avaricum* during the Hallstatt D3-La Tène A1 period (ca. 510–425 BC) (after Milcent 2014).

well as economic and mercantile functions are reflected in the presence of workshops for specialised craftsmen or even entire quarters for them, as at Bourges, and in imported goods.

However, this first wave of centralisation and urbanisation was followed by a phase of decentralisation that can be seen as a classic example of the non-linear character of history (Diamond 2011; Friedman 1982; Friedman/Rowlands 1977). As in many other parts of ancient Eurasia (see, for example, Müller 2016), it is not possible to speak of a linear, continuous and gradual evolution over the course of late prehistory from more decentralised and egalitarian forms to others that were more centralised and hierarchical, i.e. 'from villages to cities' or 'from chiefdoms to states'. The reasons for the apparently abrupt end of the *Fürstensitze* remain to be understood. Nevertheless, if we look at the development of these central

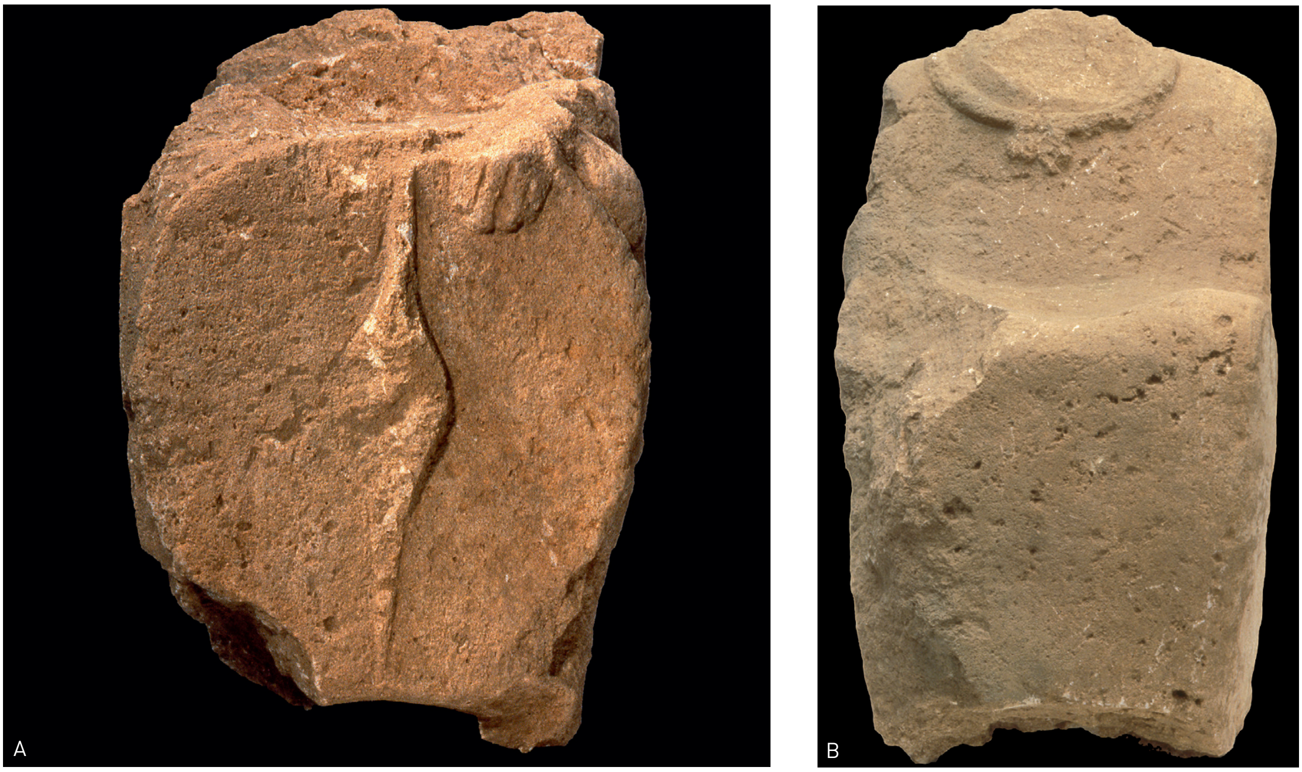

Fig. 3. Mutilated stone sculptures of a man and a woman located at the entrance to the sanctuary of Vix 'Les Herbues', Mont Lassois (after Chaume et al. 2012).

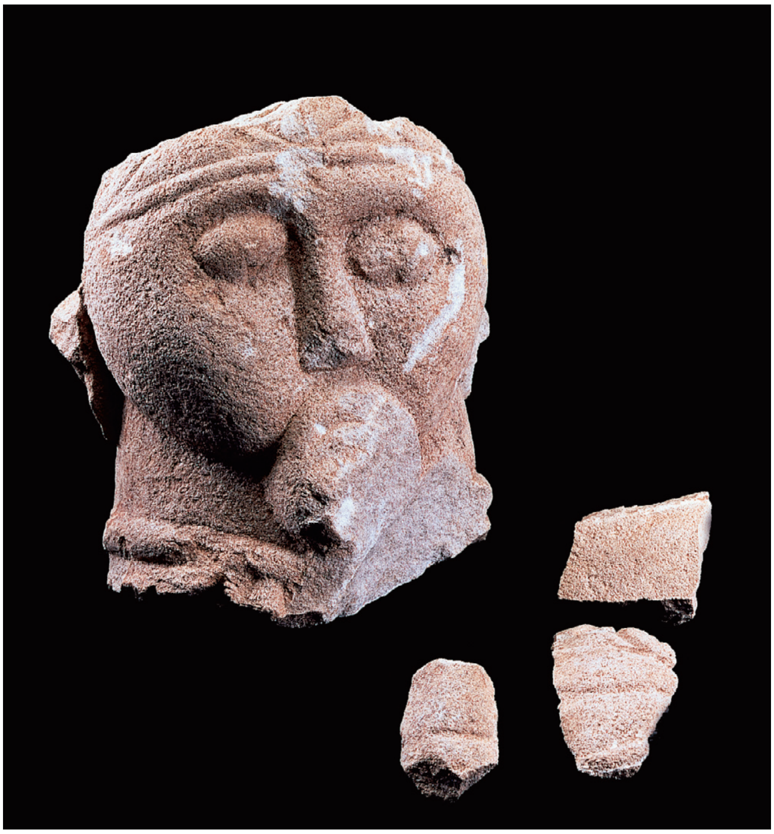

Fig. 4. Remains of destroyed statues from Glauberg (after Baitinger/Pinsker 2002).

places between Burgundy and Württemberg as a whole, we can at least recognise a pattern. The Heuneburg was abandoned around the middle of the 5th century BC, more or less contemporaneously with comparable power centres such as Mont Lassois in Burgundy. At the same time, a number of central sites became more significant in an area further north, for example, the Hohenasperg, Bad Dürkheim or Glauberg. These centres of power were somewhat younger, were located further north, and were able to maintain their significance somewhat longer, in other words until the end of the 5th century BC. But they too were abandoned no later than the early 4th century BC (Krausse 2008a).

The causes of these structural displacements and changes in the landscape of power are still unclear, but it can be assumed that the transformations did not always take place peacefully (Pauli 1985). For example, at Mont Lassois the heads of the two human statues located at the entrance to the enclosure of Vix 'Les Herbues' were broken off, apparently towards the end of the Hallstatt period as a result of the violent destruction of the sanctuary (Chaume et al. 2012; Chaume/Reinhard

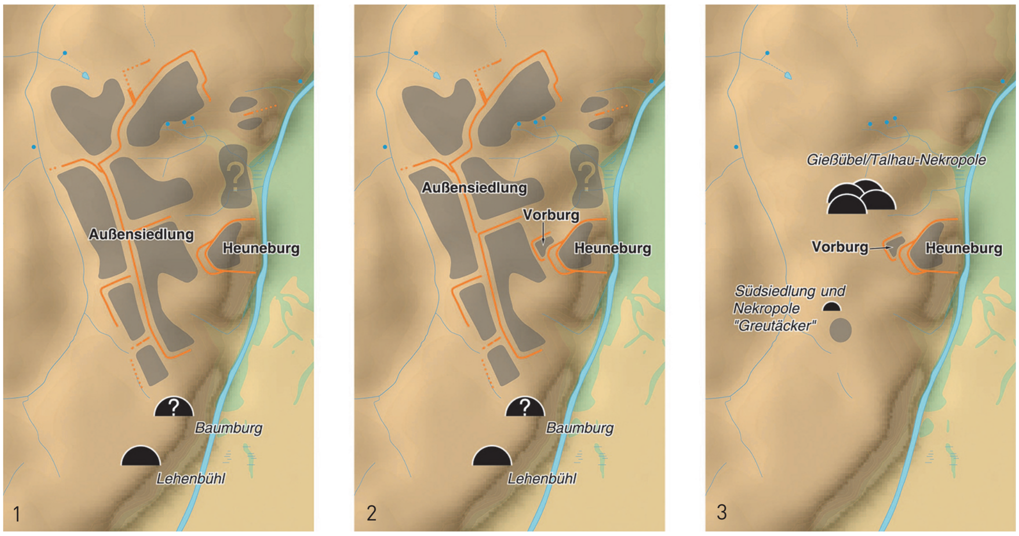

Fig. 5. Settlement history at the Heuneburg: 1) ca. 620–590 BC; 2) 590–540/530 BC; 3) 540/530–450 BC. Particularly remarkable is the abandonment of most of the outer settlement after the great fire that took place around 540/530 BC (after Kurz 2010, modified).

2007) (**Fig. 3**). A broadly similar situation can also be seen at the Glauberg, where three of the four anthropomorphic stone sculptures were intentionally destroyed (Baitinger/Pinsker 2002) (**Fig. 4**). This conscious destruction of ancestral images, probably depicting heroized ancestors or founding heroes, has been interpreted by some authors as a reaction against the elites, something that can be summarised with the expression 'société contre les princes' used by Jean-Paul Demoule (1999a). Similar phenomena appear around the same time in other parts of Iron Age Europe. The Southeastern Iberian Peninsula provides a good example, since several anthropomorphic sculptures belonging to the Iberian culture were intentionally mutilated, probably as a result of deep social changes as in the case of the images from Porcuna (Chapa Brunet 1993; Chapa Brunet/Zofío Fernández 2005).

Together with the intentional destruction of stone statues, another interesting phenomenon is observed. Several Central European centres of power of the 6th and 5th centuries BC were almost completely burned down by fires. Although alternative explanations, such as accidental fires caused by lightning, cannot be ruled out, at least some of these events must have been related to violence (either from within or from without). One of the best examples is the Heuneburg (Fernández-Götz 2014b; Krausse et al. 2016; see also Müller-Scheessel this volume). A significant hiatus in the history of this important settlement commenced after the middle of the 6th century BC, when a devastating fire occurred. The fact that after this traumatic event the mudbrick fortification was replaced with a more traditional timber and earth construction, the layout of the interior of the hilltop plateau was radically altered, and the greater part of the outer settlement was abandoned suggests that violent conflict occurring at about 540/530 BC was the most likely cause (**Fig. 5**). Possibly this took the form of an attack by an external enemy or internal conflict between rival factions. Since the mudbrick wall was never rebuilt after the fire, it can be suggested that there was a genuinely iconoclastic reaction against the exotic, Mediterranean-inspired building technique (Arnold 2010). In any case, the fact that the reconstruction of both the fortification and the settlement structures was carried out according to a completely different pattern is suggestive of deep ideological changes. Approximately three generations later, at the end of Period 1 at about 450 BC, the fate of the Heuneburg was sealed by a catastrophic fire that almost completely destroyed the fortification and the buildings within the acropolis (Gersbach 1996). The fact that the destruction level

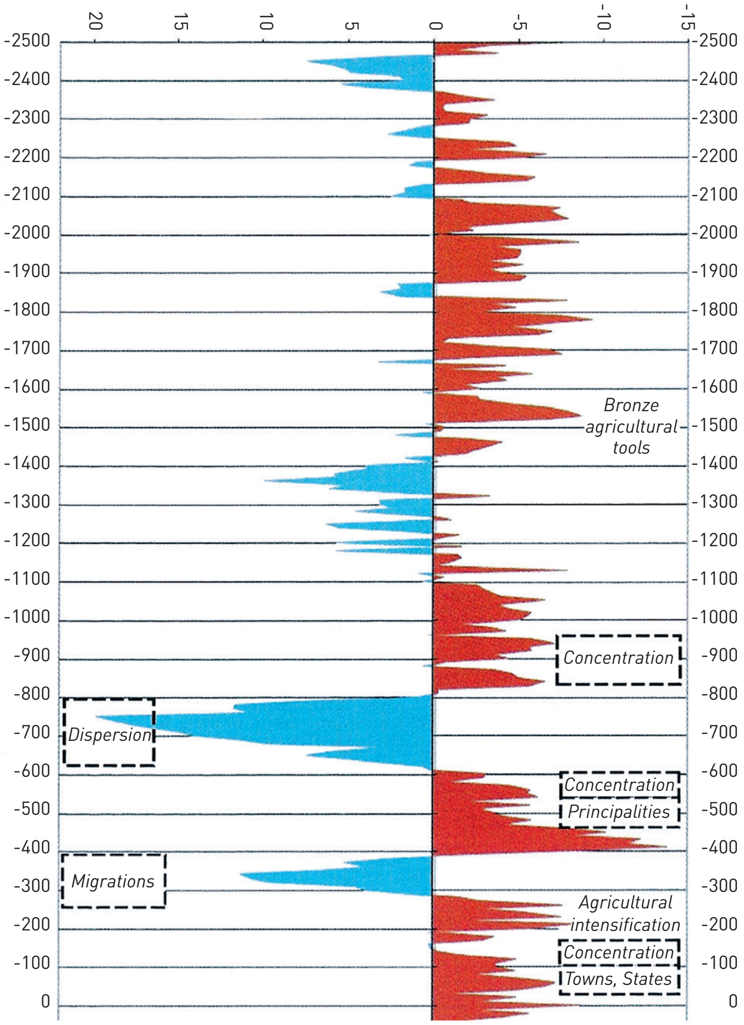

Fig. 6. Evolution of solar activity between ca. 2500 BC and the beginning of the Common Era with cold periods marked in blue and warmer periods in red (after Brun/Ruby 2008).

was relatively full of finds militates against the idea that the abandonment of the site was planned.

Regardless of the interpretations, soon after 400 BC nearly all of the early centres of power had come to an end (Krausse 2010). It is likely that this change was connected with the social processes that were involved in the migration of 'Celtic' groups to Italy and further to the Balkans, which are mentioned in historical sources. The factors responsible for the decline of the *Fürstensitze* most likely operated at various levels, so that monocausal explanations are insufficient. Among the various interpretations, there are indications that one of the catalysts was climate change: analyses of cores from the Greenland icecap indicate that as early as the first half of the 5th century BC temperatures dropped in the entire northern hemisphere, followed by a rapid climatic decline around 400 BC (Maise 1998; Sirocko 2009). At the macro-perspective level, the main climatic phases of the first millennium BC do indeed correspond with the most important stages of the processes of centralisation and decentralisation that took place north of the Alps. The processes that led to the establishment of the Late Hallstatt *Fürstensitze* or the Late La Tène *oppida* coincide with climatically favourable phases, while the 'Celtic' migrations of the 4th century BC took place during a colder phase (Brun/Ruby 2008; Fernández-Götz 2014a) (**Fig. 6**). However, if we look at the situation in detail, numerous nuances and exceptions must be taken into account. For example, the environmental indicators do not really explain why some *Fürstensitze,* such as the Heuneburg or Mont Lassois, were abandoned around the middle of the 5th century BC, while others, such as Breisacher Münsterberg or Hohenasperg, continued to function for some decades during the second half of the same century.

MIGRATIONS AS A REACTION TO GROWING INEQUALITIES?

Two interesting case studies for the question of cultural change, climate and population movements are the Aisne-Marne culture of the French Champagne and the Hunsrück-Eifel culture of the Middle Rhine-Moselle area. Both regions witnessed a process of increasing social hierarchisation during the 5th century BC, which led to the construction of some of the most notable graves of the Early La Tène period and, in the case of the Hunsrück-Eifel culture, of a series of important fortified hilltop centres (see summary in Fernández-Götz 2014a with further readings).

With more than 200 examples corresponding to the Early La Tène period, Champagne has the greatest concentration of chariot graves of the entire 'Celtic' world (Demoule 1999b; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001), including some outstanding burials like Somme-Tourbe 'La Gorge Meillet', Somme-Bionne 'L'Homme

Mort' or the newly discovered 'princely' grave at Lavau. However, around 400 BC or shortly thereafter, a sharp demographic decline occurred in Champagne, which suggests a massive exodus of the local population. The exhaustive tables published by Jean-Jacques Charpy (2009) leave no doubt about the decline in population: excluding doubtful cases, 162 cemeteries are known that were used during the second half of the 5th century BC, compared with only 36 that contain evidence relating to the first decades of the 4th century BC. These changes have generally been linked with the so-called 'Celtic migrations' described in the classical sources (Kaenel 2007; Tomaschitz 2002), and above all with the movement of transalpine populations to the Italic Peninsula (Schönfelder 2010; Vitali 2007). As Thomas L. Evans (2004, 227) has well summarised: "the depopulation of the region can be directly linked to the Galli/Keltoi migrations discussed in the classical histories. The temporal association is clear, similar artefact styles appear in the Italian peninsula at about the same time […], and it is obvious the populations described by the classical accounts came from somewhere. The association between the two events may not be absolute, but the correlation between the events creates a reasonable hypothesis". The displacement of a considerable part of the population of the Champagne to new lands would thus seem certain: rarely in protohistory do we find such a clear correlation between migrations mentioned in the written sources and archaeological data. However, it should be mentioned that the territories of Aisne-Marne were never completely 'deserted', and some continuity can occasionally be seen in the cemeteries of specific areas such as Beine-Suippes.

Moving on to the Hunsrück-Eifel region, the process of hierarchisation and centralisation came to an end in the course of the 4th century BC. Although establishing a precise chronology for the turning point is still very difficult, the total number of documented sites belonging to La Tène B2 and La Tène C is certainly much lower than in the immediately preceding stages, as reflected in the abandonment of numerous cemeteries and the decline of the large hilltop centres (Fernández-Götz 2014a; Krausse 2006; Krausse/Nakoinz 2000) (**Fig. 7**). The declining occupation is attested not only by the archaeological record, but also by pollen data from the Eifel Maare, which is of major importance for explaining the phenomenon. For the Middle La Tène period, the pollen diagrams testify to an incontestable reduction in the intensity of farming and an increase of arboreal pollen (Dörfler et al. 2000). Nevertheless, as in the case of the Champagne, there was never a complete demographic vacuum in the Hunsrück-Eifel area but only a demographic decrease. Recent research in the Ulmener Maar suggests the same process – only part of the population abandoned the region. Thus, while the emigration of some of the inhabitants has to be acknowledged, it is equally true that it was a partial, not a total, exodus. This is consistent with the available information on migrations during the Iron Age, since in most cases known to us (and with a few exceptions, such as that of the Helvetii) only a part of the communities left, while the rest remained in their original territories[1] (Kaenel 2007; Kristiansen 1998).

In relation to the topic discussed here, it should be pointed out that the climate worsened around 400 BC; this was linked to a reduction of solar activity, and appears to have occurred relatively abruptly (Maise 1998; Pare et al. 2009; Sirocko 2009). The correlation of this phenomenon with the movements of the Gallic peoples that sacked Rome in 387 BC is so clear that it cannot be coincidental. Of course, this apparently clear general picture becomes more complicated when we go into detail and try to analyse the situation in specific regions. For example, while the decline in population in the Champagne at the beginning of the 4th century BC appears to coincide fairly closely with climate changes, in

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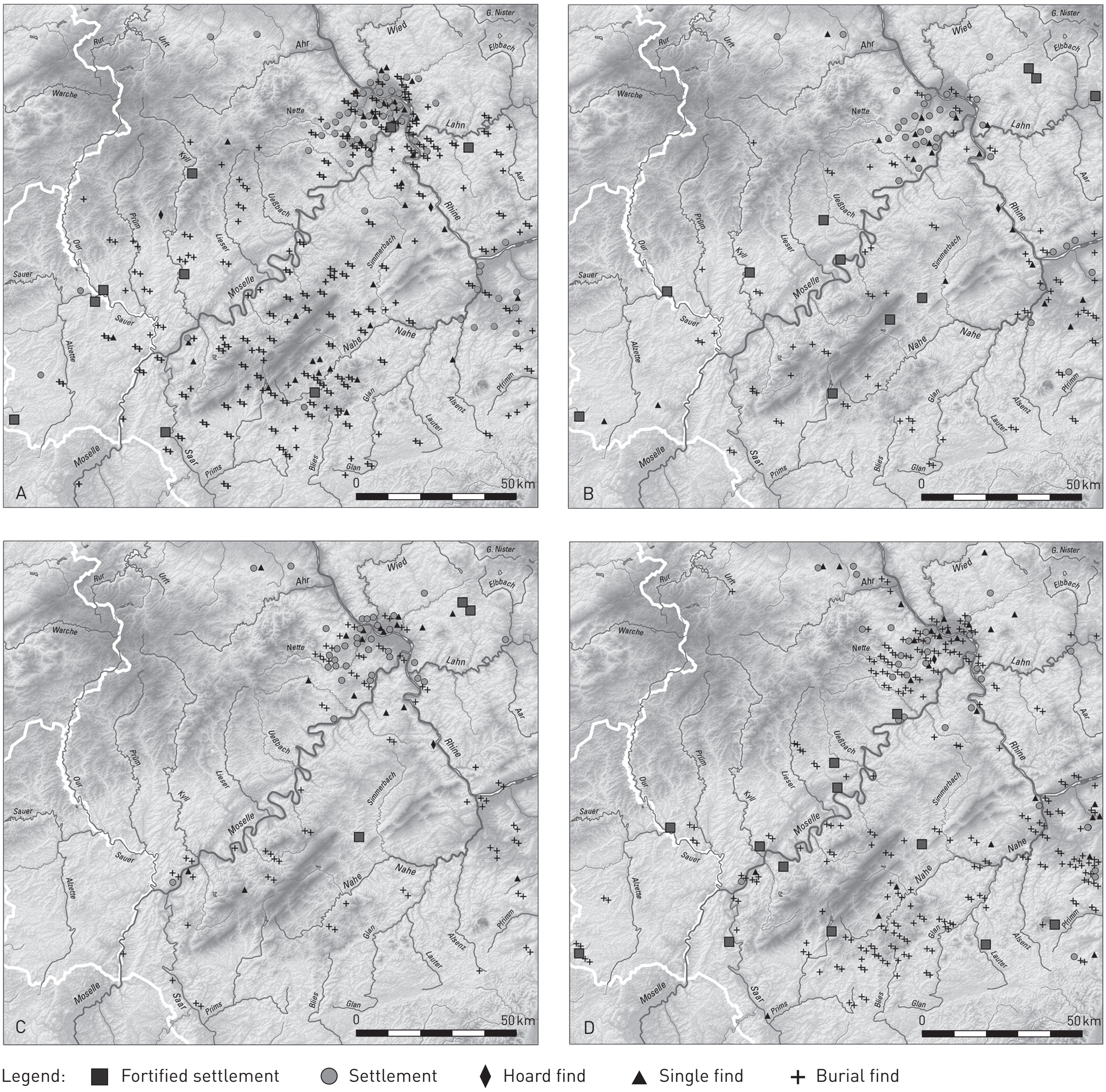
[1] Something that is already seen in Livy's (V, 33–35) account of the arrival of 'Celtic' peoples in Italy: "[Bellovesus] Taking out with him the surplus population of his tribes, the Bituriges, Arverni, Senones, Haedui, Ambarri, Carnutes and Aulerci […]".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Alsenz
Lauter
Pfrimm
Saar
Prims
Blies
0
50 km
Legend:
■ Fortified settlement
● Settlement
♦ Hoard find
▲ Single find
+ Burial find

Fig. 7. Sites of the La Tène A, B, C and D periods in the Hunsrück-Eifel area. The distribution maps clearly reflect the fall in population during La Tène B – here the decline appears to have occurred mainly in La Tène B2 – and La Tène C (after Fernández-Götz 2014a).

the case of the Hunsrück-Eifel area the correlation between cultural change and climate does not seem to have been so direct. In the Middle Rhine-Moselle region, the demographic decrease occurred in the course of the 4th century BC, and not at the beginning of that century. Thus, the worsening climate cannot be used as a monocausal explanation. In any case, the cooled climate would have had a more pronounced effect in the upland areas of the Hunsrück and the Eifel massifs, in general already less suited to agriculture, which fits fairly well with the decline in the population suggested by the archaeological indicators for these areas (Fernández-Götz 2014a; Hornung 2008; Krausse 2006).

Having made these qualifications, we should take a further step and look at the question of migrations from a somewhat broader perspective that takes into account both possible specific triggering motives as well as cultural and ideological factors of a more structural kind that explain why a particular community reacts in one way rather than another. In a good proportion of the cases, emigration was just one of several possible options (ANTHONY 1990; BURMEISTER 2000; PRIEN 2005). In fact, responses of societies to climatic change varied considerably, so we cannot talk about environmental determinism. Amongst the motives of a socio-ideological nature that may have prompted or contributed to migrations, at least in certain specific cases, I should like to draw attention, by way of a complementary hypothesis, to an idea already raised by Demoule (2006): the possible role of population movements as mechanisms that regulated power relations, in the sense that they would contribute to lowering the levels of social inequality[2]. Both in the Champagne and in the Hunsrück-Eifel areas, demographic decline caused by the exodus of some of their inhabitants reversed the trend towards increased hierarchisation that had occurred during the preceding period. The fission of part of a group is a solution frequently used to counteract the excessive entrenchment of coercive powers, so this possibility should not be surprising for the aforementioned cases.

As various anthropologists and historians have stated, the development of state formations is not inevitable and should not be seen as the 'logical', 'inevitable' far less 'desirable' outcome towards which societies inexorably move (MANN 1986; SCOTT 2009; TESTART 2005). On the contrary, throughout history numerous communities all over the world have employed various strategies in order to counter the development of state political forms, something which is well reflected in the expression 'societies against the state' used by the French anthropologist Pierre Clastres (1989; for an approach to the European Iron Age, see DEMOULE 1999a; GONZÁLEZ-GARCÍA et al. 2011). The separation of part of a group is a mechanism that is often used in this process, and in the case of some Iron Age societies of temperate Europe it could also have served as a reaction to the increasing social inequalities of the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods.

In line with the archaeological and literary data available, it seems that for the temperate European Iron Age societies, or a considerable part of them at some time in their history, migration acted as a fundamental regulating mechanism that provided an outlet for internal tensions, external pressure, etc. Following Patrice Brun (1995), traditionally the two solutions most frequently used to reduce the tensions that threatened the equilibrium of communities were, on the one hand, the fission of part of the group (historical examples include the beginnings of the Greek colonisation or the Viking settlement of Greenland), and on the other, the reinforcement of political power by setting up a hierarchy. Everything suggests that, in general, Iron Age societies favoured the first option over the second. For many protohistoric groups, emigration must have been an ever-present option, being an integral component of social life (**Fig. 8**).

It is true that raising these questions can be a somewhat speculative exercise, but at the same time, it is of great importance for trying to gain a better understanding of European late prehistory, since it is related to issues that are essential from the point of view of the *grand narrative*. As Kristian Kristiansen (1998, 13) has stated: "Since so-called barbarian societies persisted for millennia in contact with more stratified societies or states, this raises a number of questions as to the causes of such an apparent stability. Was it imposed by the dominance of centres as a form of underdevelopment, or is it the opposite situation – that

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[2] *"À l'hypothèse classique de migrations provoquées par une crise économique interne et par l'appât des civilisations méditerranéennes, on peut donc tout autant ajouter, sinon substituer, l'hypothèse de mouvements qui ont eu pour effet, en diminuant la pression démographique, d'abaisser d'autant l'inégalité sociale dans les zones de départ. […] Et l'on pourrait voir dans de telles migrations l'un de ces mécanismes qui permettent de lutter contre le développement d'une trop forte inégalité sociale"* (DEMOULE 2006, 26).

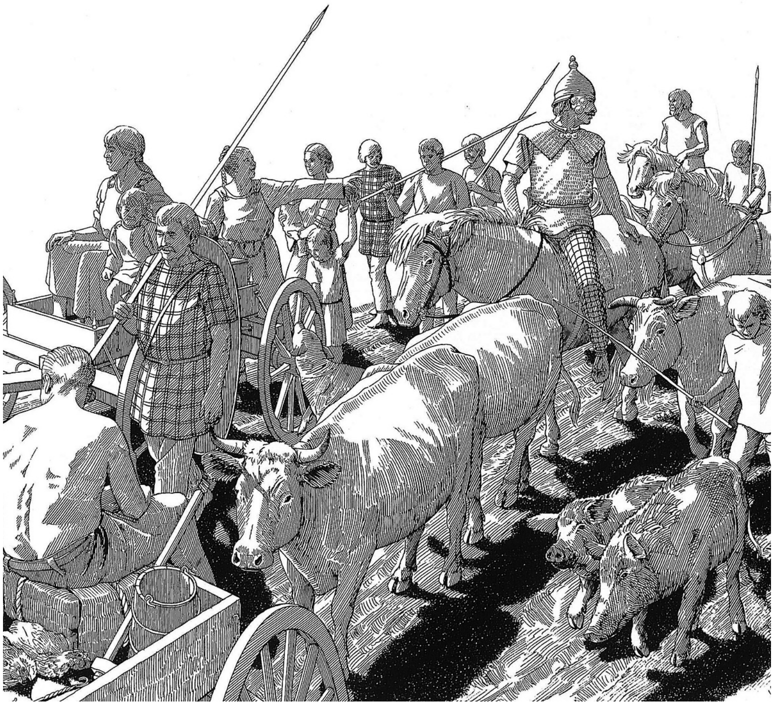


Fig. 8. Idealised reconstruction of a mass-scale migration such as that described by Caesar for the Helvetii (after Sievers 2002).

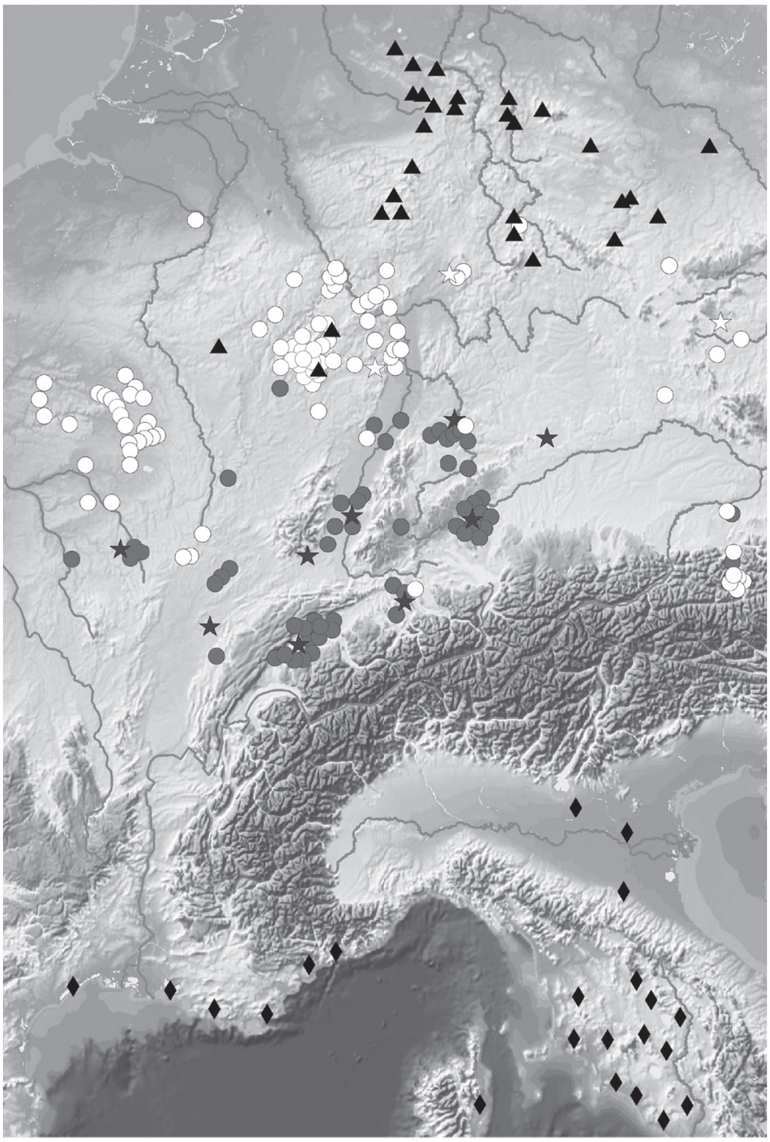
barbarian or tribal societies display an inherent resistance to hierarchy, state formation being an abnormal development?".

Although reality does not have to be black or white and resistance to hierarchy should not be confused with 'stability', the second option seems to be more plausible than the first. Early state formations already existed before the Late La Tène period – there is ample evidence of their development, at least embryonic, in Hallstatt D/La Tène A around settlements such as the Heuneburg and Bourges (Fernández-Götz/Krausse 2013; Krausse et al. 2016; Ralston 2010) – but they did not succeed in becoming consolidated and were followed by a phase of decentralisation with less social hierarchisation; interestingly, this trend was almost always linked with demographic decline. This indicates that conflicting currents existed within societies, which do reveal tension between tendencies that favoured increased inequality and others that tended to limit the latter and emphasised more egalitarian values. More than as an uprising of 'oppressed peasant masses', we should see this as the formation of different factions or interest groups, some led by members of the elite itself, which would be based on diachronically and synchronically very disparate and variable criteria (age groups, kinship ties, charismatic leaders that defended a return to 'traditional' values, etc.). From the perspective of the archaeology of identities, these dynamics would also be linked with a dialectic between processes that led to the establishment of more individualised identities (members of the elite that are set apart from the other members of their community) and currents that tried to maintain less inegalitarian and therefore more relational identities (Fernández-Götz 2014a; Hernando 2002; 2012).

Broadly speaking, we can distinguish between societies with 'political economies' that develop inequalities and hierarchies, and others in which 'moral economies' that emphasise egalitarian values predominate. Both 'political economies' and 'moral economies' should be understood in a Foucaultian sense as 'economies of power', that is, historically-specific ensembles of power relations (González-Ruibal 2012). The principal difference between political and moral economies is that the first provide the foundation for the structural generation of inequalities, while the second adopt mechanisms to hinder their development. If political economies are based on links between the economy and power that permit social differences to develop, including practices such as client relations, exaction of tributes, aristocratic ancestor worship or competitive banquets (Earle 2002; Feinman/Nicholas 2004), moral economies – without necessarily having to support radically egalitarian political systems – put the emphasis on collective values and isonomy, for example, through strategies such as the possession and communal exploitation of the land, or mutual assistance and reciprocity between households (Clastres 1989; Scott 1977).

From a long-term perspective, we can assert that there was no continual evolutionary development on a European scale from simple to more complex forms of settlements and socio-political organisation during the Iron Age, but rather multi-layered, changing and dynamic cycles of centralisation and decentralisation. The chronology of central places and sumptuous tombs allows a certain *decalage* to be seen in the development of the processes of centralisation and hierarchisation, which first began in Southern and Central Italy, a little later in the south of France and around 600 BC in the regions immediately to the north of the Alps, from Burgundy to Württemberg. This phenomenon had already reached the area between Bohemia and the Champagne in the 5th century BC (**Fig. 9**). But in contrast to what usually happened in the Mediterranean regions (Garcia 2013), in temperate Europe the stages of centralisation and the increase of social hierarchisation were short-lived and were followed by periods of regression in which more decentralised and apparently less unequal structures gained ascendency. Thus, the level of complexity of urban and proto-urban settlements, such as the Heuneburg, Mont Lassois and Bourges, was not reached again until the *oppida* of the Late La Tène period appeared several centuries later (Fernández-Götz et al. 2014).

Although contacts with the Mediterranean world obviously exerted an influence and cannot be denied, excessive Mediterraneo-centric visions should also be rejected, since in order to understand the change it is necessary to recognise the essential role of the internal dynamics of the various societies. As was mentioned above, one of the most interesting aspects arising from the use of a macro-scale is the discovery that to the north of the Alps the stages of centralisation were usually followed by others of decentralisation. This is what happened in the area of the *Fürstensitze* and also rather later in the Aisne-Marne and the Hunsrück-Eifel cultures (**Fig. 10**). In the latter, at least, decentralisation and the reduction of social hierarchisation went hand in hand with the partial emigration of the population, so we ought to ask ourselves if this phenomenon also occurred in the area of the Late Hallstatt 'princely sites'. The answer is that this is a very plausible possibility, at least in certain cases, although they may not necessarily have been long-distance migrations. It should be remembered that we know about the migrations of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC and that of the Cimbri and Teutones at the end of the 2nd century BC, because they directly impinged on the Greek and Roman world, whose writers left a written record. But we do not know with any certainty whether similar movements of population were also common during the preceding centuries or in areas for which we have no written records.



◆ Etruscan cities/Greek colonies 8th–6th c. BC
★ ● Late Hallstatt Princely seats/Sumptuous graves
☆ ○ La Tène A Princely seats/Sumptuous graves
▲ Main fortified centres from the Middle La Tène period

Fig. 9. Centralisation processes between Central Italy and Northern Germany, 8th–3rd centuries BC (after Krausse 2008a, modified).

1) Circum-Mediterranean area (Etruria, Greek colonies)	• Development 8th to 7th centuries BC • Centralisation • Towns • Elite Graves	• Migrations, in the form of founding colonies and later of Roman expansionism
2) Area of the *Fürstensitze*	• Development 6th/first half of the 5th century BC • Centralisation • Beginning of urbanisation • Elite Graves	• Destabilisation in the course of the 5th century BC (earlier in Heuneburg than in Hohenasperg) • Decentralisation • Migrations?
3) Champagne, HEK	• Development 5th century BC • Centralisation • Elite Graves	• Destabilisation in the course of the 4th century BC (earlier in Champagne than in Hunsrück-Eifel) • Decentralisation • 'Celtic' migrations, 4th to 3rd centuries BC
4) Westphalia, Lower Saxony, etc.	• Development end of the 4th/3rd century BC • Incipient Centralisation	• 'Germanic' migrations (Cimbri, Ariovistus, Przeworsk Culture…), late 2nd–1st century BC

Fig. 10. Chronological *decalage* in the development of the cycles of centralisation – sometimes followed by others of decentralisation – that occurred between Italy and northern Germany in the 8th to 3rd centuries BC (after Fernández-Götz 2014a).

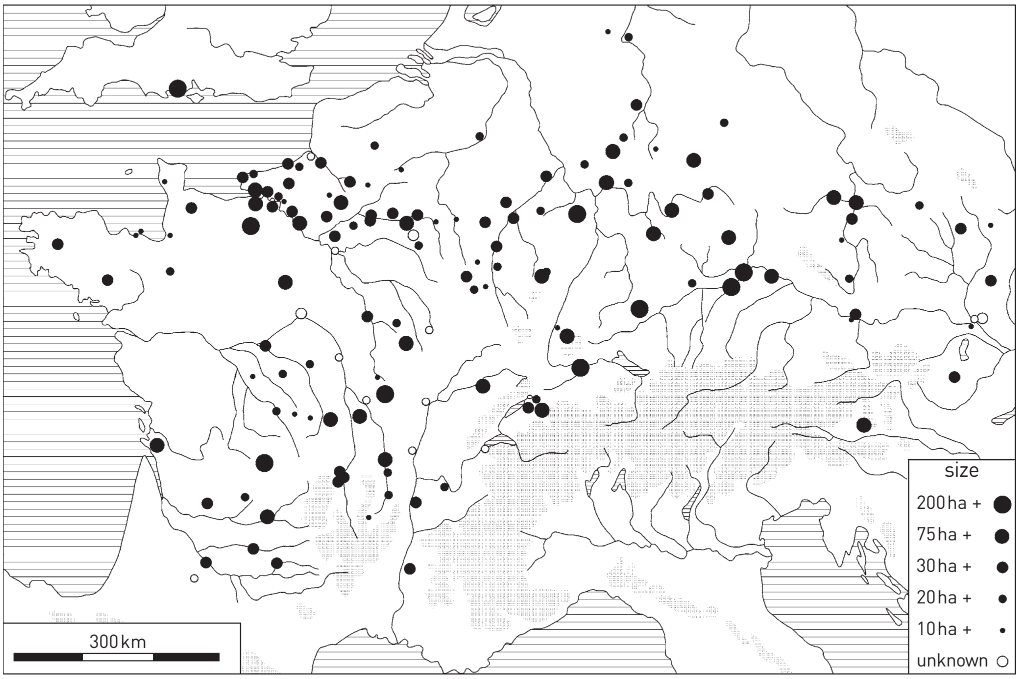


Fig. 11. Towards Centralisation (2): Distribution of Late Iron Age continental *oppida* (after Collis 2014).

LATE IRON AGE *OPPIDA* AS TECHNOLOGIES OF POWER

In the area immediately north of the Alps, a new trend towards centralisation can be observed in the late 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, leading to the emergence of the great open agglomerations and the fortified *oppida* of the Late La Tène period (Collis 2014; Fichtl 2012; 2013) (**Fig. 11**). In general terms, the main processes that would have motivated this new centralisation tendency included the following: 1) The intensification of productive and commercial activities; 2) Demographic growth and a resurgence of social hierarchisation; 3) An increase in the 'social density', that is, the frequency of communications and interactions between individual persons and groups; and 4) The large-scale establishment and/or reinforcement of political-religious integration and structuring of the territory. Evidently, not all these elements were necessarily present in all cases or to the same extent. The range of situations was obviously very diverse, although there is a common denominator, which stands out over the differences. If we adopt a Foucaultian perspective (FOUCAULT 1980), the *oppida* represented a new technology of power, which enabled a more hierarchical and centralising ideology to be articulated. From this point of view, and in line with the concept of materiality, their appearance can also be seen as a way of reinforcing social cohesion and political control: the *oppida* are the expression of more unequal societies, and at the same time contributed to the construction of those inequalities (BRUN 2001; FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ 2014c). On a more general level, late prehistoric centralisation processes – from the 4th millennium BC Trypillia mega-sites of Eastern Europe to the *Fürstensitze* and *oppida* of the Iron Age – can be also interpreted as triggers of social control (MÜLLER 2016), and are thus directly related to power relationships, growing inequalities, social tensions and control.

The internal structure of Late Iron Age *oppida* usually indicates previous planning and a manifestation of the principles of social order that govern communities. In most cases, their foundation was a deliberate response to a political decision, one that must have been initiated by the aristocracy in Gaul (BUCHSENSCHUTZ/RALSTON 2012). Quoting some words of Vladimir Salač (2012, 338) as my own: *"Puisque les motifs économiques ne sont pas nécessairement la raison première de l'apparition des oppida, ce sont plus vraisemblablement les liens de pouvoir changeants, et par conséquent les besoins de l'élite ou de peuples entiers de manifester leur pouvoir, qui en seraient la cause. Ils peuvent être aussi la manifestation de tensions sociales croissantes, de conflits entre élites, peuples, etc".*

A final question that deserves inquiry focuses on the conditions that were conducive to the emergence of state entities in Gaul after the stage of decentralisation that characterised the period of the 'Celtic migrations'. Although there could never have been a single motive and each specific case needs numerous qualifications, from a macro-perspective it could be ventured that with the conquest of Cisalpine and subsequently Transalpine Gaul by Rome it was more difficult to export internal conflicts using the fission formula. What is more, in some areas there were probably 'reflux' movements, especially of mercenaries, who returned not only bringing new experiences but also social tensions. A combination of factors – including progressive demographic growth, an upsurge in demand by the Mediterranean world and the introduction of new techniques that allowed agricultural and industrial output to be increased – would have led to a rise in 'social density' and increased hierarchisation, which could no longer be so easily reduced by resorting to migration as in earlier times. The result was the development of societies with higher inegalitarian tendencies and the integration of communities on a larger scale, a process that in some cases led to the constitution of early states (BRUN 2001; BRUN/RUBY 2008; FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ 2014a).

CONCLUSION: CONFLICT AND RESISTANCE IN THE EUROPEAN IRON AGE

From a long-term perspective, a trend towards the development of more hierarchised and centralised social structures can be seen, but this was neither a teleological nor a linear process (FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ 2014a; KRAUSSE 2008a; SALAČ 2012). Instead, the discussed timeframe included cycles of regression, crisis, times of reduced hierarchisation and demographic decrease. Moreover, it must be assumed that the changes did not always take place peacefully and that conflict – either from within or from without – was often involved. Of course, these dynamics did not necessarily affect all Iron Age societies, nor did they do so with the same intensity in all of those where they were present. But although they do not, on their own, explain the whole span of the 'history of later prehistory', they do constitute an important part of the story. For that reason, regardless to what extent the arguments set out above may need to be qualified when analysing the details, it is worth drawing some general conclusions:

1) The processes of hierarchisation and centralisation can be reversed, either by external factors, such as climate change (Maise 1998), internal causes of a socio-ideological nature (Clastres 1989), or more often by a combination of the two.
2) The development of forms of state organisation does not necessarily constitute the 'desirable' or 'obvious' end towards which societies develop (Clastres 1989; Testart 2005).
3) Migrations – in their multiple modalities – played an important role in the cultural changes that occurred during the Iron Age in temperate Europe (Kristiansen 1998; Tomaschitz 2002).

As a concluding remark, we can subscribe to the following reflections put forth by Kristiansen (1998, 417): "We have to give up the modernist liberal myth that change and progress was always accomplished peacefully and freely, and that conflict, disruption and migration did not occur in Prehistory".

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SOCIAL UNREST IN THE EARLY IRON AGE OF CENTRAL EUROPE: AN ESSAY IN POSSIBILITIES

ABSTRACT

Only very few other periods of Central European prehistory have been so often claimed to have been periods of great social unrest as the Early Iron Age (Hallstatt and Early Latène periods). This paper aims to scrutinize the available evidence. I begin with an archaeological viable definition of uprisings or revolutions as a refusal of obedience or order, which might in turn lead to violence and structural changes in the deployment of power and organisational institutions. Thus, archaeological evidence would include hints towards a substantial inequality of power relations, crises in legitimizing routines as well as traces of violence. Accordingly, a number of archaeological findings have been identified as hints towards troubled times during the Early Iron Age; these include the plundering of grave mounds and the destruction of sites like the Heuneburg, both very visible markers in the landscape. Additionally, the rising number of settlement burials can be seen as the breakdown of traditional customs, while the appearance of Latène art has been interpreted as part of a millenaristic movement. However, despite the fact that a fair amount of scholarship and research energy has been invested into this archaeological period, in the past these facts have been interpreted quite differently. Because of the coarse archaeological time resolution and the difficulty to identify the sequence of cause and effect, the different lines of evidence can only be held together by more or less convincing narratives.

INTRODUCTION

> *"The law that Nature makes no jumps, can be taught by the history of mechanical contrivances, in such way as at least to make men cautious how they listen to scatter-brained revolutionary suggestions. The knowledge of the facts of evolution, and of the processes of gradual development, is the one great knowledge that we have to inculcate".*
>
> (Pitt-Rivers 1891, 116)

To claim that topics like revolution, uprising or even inequality are over-researched in the context of prehistoric archaeology would be a mild overstatement at best. Only very seldom do archaeologists indulge as openly as Henry Pitt-Rivers in the above on their role for society. But there can be no doubt that "evolution" has been a far more favourite topic than "revolution". A search in the quite comprehensive library of the Romano-Germanic Commission of the German Archaeological Institute [http://zenon.dainst.org; 11/1/2014] yields only 5 hits for the keyword "Umsturz", 20 for "Rebellion", 30 for "Aufstand", 5 for "Uprising", 27 for "Widerstand", 9 for "Insurrection", 29 for "Inequality" and 1 for "Ungleichheit". Because the words "Revolution" and "Krieg" are part of the general keyword thesaurus, they yield much higher numbers (1384 for the first, 811 for the second). By far the largest part of these hits concerns Roman times and not prehistoric archaeology.

Recently, some conferences have tried to address the lower strata of society (Trebsche et al. 2007; Kienlin/Zimmermann 2012), but a substantial part of these papers again deals with the seemingly privileged. They are simply the easiest to grasp because their graves supply the richest contextual information. This, however, does not disburden us from the responsibility to deal with the entirety of prehistoric societies. In the past decades, scholars tended to describe a rather peaceful past (Gronenborn 2006). It is only recently that war and violence are again on the agenda of research. The volume at hand could very well be interpreted as part of this development.

DEFINITION

First, we have to obtain a clearer picture of what we are dealing with. Only then is it possible to make statements as to what extent uprisings or revolutions can be hoped to be traceable in prehistory. It could certainly be claimed that the keywords listed above mean different things (this is at least true for "inequality"/ "Ungleichheit" in comparison to the other terms). For example, in a well-known dictum the philosopher Hannah Arendt (1963, 142) states that "the end of rebellion is liberation, while the end of revolution is the foundation of freedom". Thus, Arendt makes a fundamental difference between rebellion and revolution. In a contemporary context and from a philosophical point of view, this statement can certainly make sense. However, for prehistoric times we must be content with extracting possibilities of social unrest (see below for a more in-depth discussion). The subtleties, which Arendt implies, would completely overstretch the available archaeological sources.

Since one definition may be just as good as another, I concur on the definitions as they can be found in Wikipedia. Interestingly, the English and German definitions differ in their circumscriptions, which might provide a good starting point. The English Wikipedia entry defines revolution as follows: "A revolution […] is a fundamental change in power or organizational structures that takes place in a relatively short period of time" ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolution; 2/12/2015]), while the German version reads: "*Eine Revolution ist ein grundlegender und nachhaltiger struktureller Wandel eines oder mehrerer Systeme, der meist abrupt oder in relativ kurzer Zeit erfolgt*" ([https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolution; 2/12/2015]). While the German authors refer only to structural changes, the English authors put a special emphasis on power relations. Equally enlightening are the entries for "rebellion": The English page defines it as an "uprising, or insurrection […] a refusal of obedience or order" ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rebellion; 2/12/2015]), while the German version states that it is "ein offener, gewaltsamer Widerstand mehrerer Personen gegen eine Staatsgewalt" ([https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aufstand; 2/12/2015]). The German authors seem to presuppose that a "rebellion" can only happen in a state environment – that is in a situation with a strong central power. In effect, this would rule out the possibilities of rebellions for most of prehistoric Europe. The English page, on the other hand, demands that the question of those ordering und those ordered is the focal point. The German version is useful, however, because it points to the violent nature of rebellions. This does not necessarily imply only violence against humans, but could also include violence against objects.

In the following, I will use the words "uprising", "rebellion" or "revolution" interchangeably, thus deliberately overlooking the subtle differences that could possibly be made in contexts other than prehistory. For the sake of brevity, I will combine the English versions of the definitions as cited above for my point of departure. An instance of uprising or revolution would thus imply a refusal of obedience or order, which might in turn lead to violence and structural changes in the deployment of power and organisational institutions.

PRECONDITIONS

It is much to be regretted that Max Weber, who obviously planned to write on the "Theory of uprisings" ("Theorie des Umsturzes"), never put his plan into action (Weber 1976, 532). Lacking such guidelines, from the above discussion I would deduce the following as prerequisites for the possibility to find hints of uprisings in the prehistoric past.

There must exist – in Marxian terms – structural contradictions between those ordering and those ordered, in other words a substantial inequality of power relations[1]. This could have worked on different levels: Apart from social divergences between the have-alls and the have-nots, differences between gender roles and between age classes also have to be taken into account.

In their classic text on the "The Social Construction of Reality", Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1977) have also dealt with the question on how and why new forms of social organisation can come into practice, especially when revolutions are concerned. Berger and Luckmann placed particular emphasis on the importance of "legitimizing routines". Due to such routines, the social world takes on a seemingly objective quality of necessity, which makes it very difficult to argue and fight against the status quo. Nevertheless, in Berger and Luckmann's view, frictions in worldview(s) are unavoidable; the question is therefore not why there are schisms in worldviews, but why they do not occur more often. Therefore, what we would also expect are signs that would pinpoint to crises of legitimisation of traditional routines or subversive tendencies that could be regarded as evidence of new legitimizing routines in development or as such that were in need. What form such signs could assume is hardly predictable. As practiced routines, they are notoriously difficult to find archaeologically. The best chance to detect such routines seems to exist in pictorial representations, which give us a glimpse of the (usually hegemonic) ideological world.

Finally, traces of violence are further prerequisites, which would be expected if we reckon with uprisings.

PROBLEMS

There are undeniable problems for the archaeological identification of rebellions or revolutions: First, there is a polysemy of observations. Even if we find indisputable traces of violence, it is still far from clear how they are to be interpreted. They could also stem from war and violence between neighbours, which are also to be expected. However, the more severe epistemological problem concerns the difficulties in establishing the contemporaneity of observations and/or cause and effect. Archaeologically, we can usually date certain prehistoric events only within limits of decades at best. This makes it very difficult to argue firmly in favour of a certain order of events, which cannot be connected by direct archaeological observations (e.g. stratigraphical information). Usually, events can be ordered in different manners due to very coarse temporal resolutions. While even in the natural sciences the observation of cause and effect is a matter of inductive reasoning (*qua* Hume), we cannot even be sure that specific events were the prerequisites to make other events happen, or that cause and effect – if there ever was such a connection – worked the other way round. That is why we will never be able to do away with narratives, because only they can offer the envelope with which a certain ordering of events appears convincing, they supply the structuring principle of historical stories. Thus, there is ultimately no way out of this dilemma, but only different narratives.

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[1] There is, of course, an extensive debate about the term "power". Agency theory, according to Anthony Giddens, claims that power has to be considered as power to act at all. Giddens (1984) explicitly states that even slaves still hold some power, to take one extreme. On the one hand, this point of view seems to denigrate the individuals who suffer or suffered in such conditions. On the other hand, to claim that power is only with the mighty would make explanations of uprisings difficult from a theoretical point of view. In the end, it depends on the ability to organize and to join forces.

THE CONTEXT

The Early Iron Age is one of the best-researched periods in Central European prehistory. This is not only true in terms of the amount or quality of research but also in relation to the different sources of material. On the one hand, plenty of graves that show high variability have been excavated in the past decades by modern standards (e.g. Villingen-Schwenningen 'Magdalenenberg', Eberdingen-Hochdorf). They enable us to come to far-reaching inferences about the social systems of the societies of this time (Müller-Scheessel in prep. a). Furthermore, we have fairly good knowledge of the settlement patterns at least of the HaD and Latène A–B phases. Some settlements have been intensively excavated. In particular, the 'Heuneburg' in Baden-Württemberg serves as the model for other similar sites ('princely sites'/'Fürstensitze').

There are several possible structural contradictions, that can be deduced for Early Iron Age societies. First, there can be little doubt that the societies of the Early Iron Age were highly hierarchically structured. While the actual extent of the power of the individuals representing hegemonic masculinity (for this term see Müller-Scheessel 2011) as represented in the princely burials is still under debate, the notion of competition is undeniable. Thus, one of the prerequisites named above, a dichotomy between those ordering and those ordered, is fulfilled.

As shown by Stefan Burmeister (Burmeister 2000; see also Burmeister/Müller-Scheessel 2005 and Steffen 2012), important structuring principles of these societies were age and gender. Obviously, old men monopolized resources, prestige goods and also the access to females. While a goal for young men would then have been to attain the position of hegemonic masculinity, not everybody was able to reach such a state. This might have led to social fissures.

Furthermore, there are some indications that marriage was organized patrilocally (Müller-Scheessel et al. 2015, 19), which meant that females had to leave the home of their parents. This certainly entailed new alliances between distant groups, but could also have been a source of stress and ambiguity between male (relatives) and female (relatives). The exchange of children could have been a means to help solve such problems (ibid.), but this could also have led to contrary effects and deepened animosities.

Finally, it has been claimed that the demise of the 'Hallstatt culture' was due to mismanagement and the breakdown of the exchange system (Arnold 1991; 1995; Kurz 2009). Any kind of stress, which might have been induced by one of the above factors, would have then with no doubt been intensified by this economic stress.

From such a point of view, the Hallstatt social system seems to have been overloaded by contradictions and social stress, and it appears strange that the system did survive at all for a certain period of time.

TRACES OF VIOLENCE

The only site of the Early Iron Age in Central Europe that is researched in such a manner that one can hope to find convincing traces of violence hinting towards an uprising is the Heuneburg near Herbertingen-Hundersingen in Baden-Wurttemberg. The Heuneburg was founded around the transition from HaC to HaD (around 620 BC) and lasted until the end of the Hallstatt period that corresponds to phase HaD3 (around 475/450 BC). Recent surveys in the past few years have immensely added to our knowledge of the site. It is important to note that at the beginning of its existence, the Heuneburg consisted not only of the hillfort, which is still visible today, but also included a huge settlement surrounding the fortress as recent excavations have shown. In its heyday, this settlement must have been the home of many hundreds, if not thousands of inhabitants (**Fig. 1**).

The archaeologist Egon Gersbach most forcefully propounded the opinion that the Heuneburg was conquered by a dynasty of foreign origin during the HaD2 period (Gersbach 1969; 1995, 91; critical review and summation of the evidence: Kurz 2009; also 2010). He named four main arguments, of which

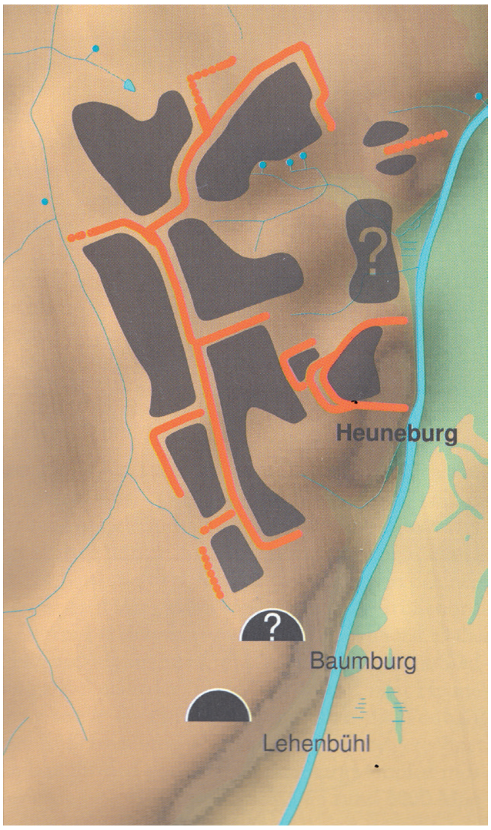

Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the settlement structures in the vicinity of the Heuneburg in Baden-Wurttemberg, Germany (after Kurz 2010, 252 Abb. 12).

three still hold true today: The first is that the well-known clay brick wall burnt down at the end of Heuneburg phase IV and was replaced by a traditional wood and earth wall. More diagnostic than the burnt clay wall, which could have caught fire for all kinds of reasons, is perhaps the reorganization of the 'acropolis', Gersbach's second argument. The layout of the excavated part of the hill-fort changes from a set of densely packed houses to a more cluttered layout. In a sense, this can also be interpreted as a violent act, which deliberately broke with the old way of organizing life at the Heuneburg. His third argument concerns the burials, which were found inside the hill-fort. A woman, who according to Gersbach is to have died during a siege, was therefore buried within the walls of the acropolis. However, it is hard to imagine that armed troops of the Early Iron Age either had the knowledge or the means to successfully besiege a fortified settlement like the Heuneburg. Such fortifications were either taken by surprise attack or not taken at all. Furthermore, the burial is located in an area of the site where many remains of newborns were also found. The area obviously served as a special burial place (Müller-Scheessel in prep. b). This makes the burial of the woman less special than presumed until now. However, the fourth argument holds true. At archaeologically roughly the same time as the destruction of the brick wall, new tumuli were built closer to the Heuneburg. This means that at that time at least parts of the outer settlement must have been abandoned because the mounds were built on top of settlement debris. The question remains, though, if this relocation can be interpreted as an indication of a new dynasty, which broke with the older burial place further away.

While Gersbach's arguments cannot prove that a new dynasty installed itself, the traces of violence can at least be perceived as evidence that the Heuneburg underwent some unrest and troublesome times. As such, the Heuneburg is one piece within the picture of upheaval within the Hallstatt period. Of course, it is only one site, so it gives testimony to only what could have happened there and thus it should not be generalised, but there is simply no other site, which has been as well-researched as the Heuneburg.

Even as fascinating as the hints named above is the fact that the site encompassed such a large area at one time in its history, unimaginable only a few years ago. The agglomeration of so many people on such a scale calls for specific efforts of institutionalization and usually results in higher stress (Johnson 1982). It is very unlikely that Iron Age societies had the institutions at hand to overcome centrifugal tendencies unavoidable with this scale of human population density. The short-lived existence of the outer settlement of the Heuneburg is proof of this.

SETTLEMENT BURIALS

Similar to the burial of the woman mentioned above, other human remains found on the acropolis cannot serve as proof of violence either. Single bones as well as entire skeletons

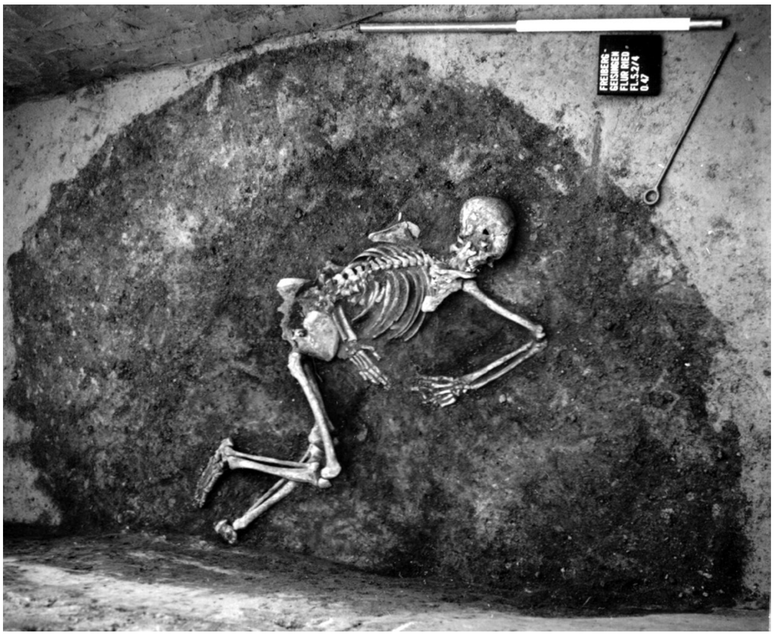

Fig. 2. Freiberg-Geisingen/Baden-Wurttemberg. Adult male on ground of settlement pit.

are regularly encountered at Iron Age sites (Müller-Scheessel et al. 2013; Müller-Scheessel in prep. b). The later burials descriptively denoted as 'settlement burials' are usually found accidentally in storage pits of Iron Age settlements. The skeletons lie in all sorts of postures above the bottoms of the pits as if the dead had been cast into the pits from above. Sometimes, more than one individual can be found in a pit (**Fig. 2**). It seems clear that purely social explanations – along the lines that the dead in the settlement pits were perhaps slaves or otherwise underprivileged – are unsatisfactory. Especially the existence of jewellery a possible lack of clothes and some further observations, such as large packets of stones on top of some burials, are thus left unexplained.

It is interesting that such finds peak in the Early Latène period, thus at a time when the burial customs fundamentally changed from burials in or near mounds to flat graves (Müller-Scheessel 2013; Lorenz 1980). It cannot ruled out completely that a chronological effect is at hand here due to our incomplete knowledge of absolute dates for the Early Iron Age and the fact that settlements of the phases HaD2/3-LtA/B are particularly prevalent, at least in Baden-Wurttemberg (Müller-Scheessel in prep. b), although at the moment we have to take into account that large parts of the population were not provided with burials as was the custom.

Whatever the reasons, it is very imaginable that the deposition of parts of the population in the observed settlement pits led at first to social ill feelings and finally to political upheaval, if this special treatment in itself was not the result of social unrest.

GRAVE RE-OPENINGS: CRIES FOR ATTENTION?

There can be no doubt that the burial mounds, which contained the so-called princely graves, were impressive monuments in the landscape. The largest of these, such as the Magdalenenberg near Villingen-Schwenningen, measured more than 100 metres in diameter and reached heights of up to 10 metres. As monuments, they conveyed messages of tradition, endurance, and claims and so on; in short, they were forceful ideological transmitters.

In this vein, it appears at first that the re-opening of these monuments presents no interpretational problems and this is why, paradoxically, the re-opening of graves of the Early Iron Age has only seldom been explicitly addressed. Notable exceptions are the papers by Jürgen Driehaus (1978) and Holger Baitinger (1992). Armin Stroh (1973) used this topic to discuss certain observations concerning the dead of Kallmünz-Schirndorf. Recently, a more open debate on the re-opening of graves has ensued, which moves away from the single-minded explanation of grave robbing for purely economic reasons (= greed).

For certain instances, which especially relate to the cemeteries of Northern Baden-Wurttemberg and Bavaria, grave re-openings seem to have been a regular feature in the course of burial rituals. As the dead were often placed in already existent chambers, the handling of 'older' dead was unavoidable. At times, this seems to have involved the manipulation or removal of certain bones, especially the skulls (for Schirndorf: ibid.; for Tauberbischofsheim:

Baitinger 1992; for an in-depth discussion see Wendling in prep.). It seems very likely that such bones served as tokens and memorabilia of a certain individual.

However, the case is different with the re-opening of the so-called princely burials, which are located in southern Baden-Wurttemberg. There, the intention does not seem to have been to put 'new' dead in already existent chambers[2]. Instead, remains of broken burial goods show that splendid and often exotic items were removed. The efforts to gain access to such chambers were tremendous; in one of the best known cases a shaft had to be dug in the 'Hohmichele' (Heiligkreuztal, Baden-Württemberg), which presupposed some knowledge of mining techniques (Riek 1962). Only one example exists, where the attempt to enter the chamber was not successful: This relates to the princely grave of Eberdingen-Hochdorf. The stone package above the central chamber obviously defied any attempts to gain access to the central chamber (Biel 1982). It is probably no coincidence that the Hochdorf grave is the one with the most massive chamber known for the Hallstatt period (Müller-Scheessel 2013, 114); apart from the stone package, which is not unusual, the chamber had doubled walls and it was also dug into the ground. This combination is unique, and it is hard to interpret it not as an attempt to prevent re-access to the chamber once it was covered by stone and earth. Consequently, it seems unlikely that the second kind of re-opening was accepted by the burial community in its original form.

In most instances, it is very difficult to assess the exact amount of time that took place between the construction of a grave and a possible re-opening. In the case of the Magdalenenberg, it is claimed that 47 years had elapsed between these events (Baitinger 1992, 341); in others, the re-opening took place when sinews were at least partly still intact (Kurz/Schiek 2002; **Fig. 3**), which means that such a re-opening must have taken place within a few years or decades at best[3], and thus when memories concerning the dead individual were still active.

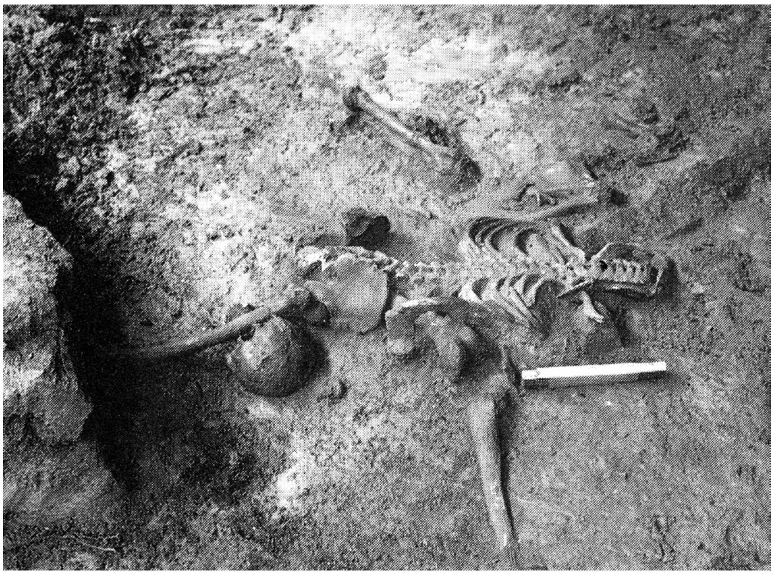

Fig. 3. Disturbed skeleton with sinews partly still intact in the central chamber of mound 4 of burial group 'Talhau' close to the Heuneburg (after Kurz/Schiek 2002, 118 Abb. 44,3).

There is some dispute if the re-opening of graves increased during the Hallstatt period: Baitinger (1992, 343 Anm. 62) explicitly denied Hartwig Zürn's claims (1974, 498), who observed such a development. The number of re-opened graves indeed does not increase during the Early Iron Age. However, if only central burials are considered, which are usually the 'richest', the percentage increases. So, while in HaD1 only 8.1 % of all graves are re-opened, in HaD2/3 one quarter of all known central graves have been the target of re-openings (**Tab. 1**). To show that this is not a general cultural habit, the proportion of the secondary burials in larger burial mounds, which were re-opened, is also tabulated. From the shear percentage, it should be clear that not all burials were the target of robbers, but only the primary burials, which probably contained the

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[2] A possible exception could be the 'Grafenbühl', where an individual was later obviously placed in one corner of the central chamber. However, the evidence is not completely clear; it seems equally likely that this burial was placed above the chamber and fell into it when the wooden planks had decayed (Zürn 1970).

[3] Christoph Kümmel (2009) gives a list of timeframes for a complete skeletonisation of human bodies.

Tab. 1. Re-opening rates of primary and secondary burials of Hallstatt tumuli (after Müller-Scheessel 2013, 172 Tab. 24).

		Re-opened	Undisturbed	%
HaC	Primary burial	31	352	8,1
HaD1		16	125	11,3
HaD2/3		7	22	24,1
HaD2/3	Secondary burial	11	214	4,9

richest grave goods. Accordingly, Marian Diepeveen-Jansen (2001, 191) interprets the disturbing of Early Latène graves as a sign that the old order was questioned.

ART AS RESISTANCE: AN EXPERIMENT OF THOUGHT

At first sight, there is hardly a form of art imaginable that seems more apt to serve as a subversive medium and thus as a means to display discontent and more or less open insubordination than Latène art. This style signals an undeniable and fundamental break with the earlier period: Where objects of the Hallstatt period show straight lines and clear geometric figures with sharp angles, Latène art is curved and inaccessible. Everything is fluidity, double-meaning, uncertainty, of changing form and appearance, of uncontrollability. As Paul Jacobsthal (1944, 163) has expressed it: "[Celtic art] is attractive and repellent; it is far from primitiveness and simplicity, is refined in thought and technique; elaborate and clever, full of paradoxes, restless, puzzlingly ambiguous; rational and irrational; dark and uncanny […]"[4].

More than three decades ago, Ludwig Pauli (1980; 1984) already developed the idea that the emergence of Latène art might be connected with a kind of millenarian movement, aimed at deliberately breaking away with traditional ways of life and signalizing the appearance of new religious ideas. Jan Assmann (1992, 80) links such movements specifically to situations of suppression. It breaks with the idea of "Re-volution", of ever-repeating cycles of daily life, to one of "Revolution", of a completely new way of life.

Pauli's concept remained a minority opinion: Among those dealing with Latène art, it is usually taken for granted that it was introduced by the princes, for example, by those rising in the Mosel-Eifel region (Echt 2004). However, the origin of Latène art is still open to debate. Finds like the famous wooden statues from Fellbach-Schmiden (Historisches Museum Bern/Landesmuseum Württemberg Stuttgart 2009, 239) give us a glimpse of what we are missing in organic material. It seems more than likely that the metal objects we find in graves had predecessors in wood and other organic materials (e.g. fabric). While it is common knowledge that Latène artists copied and transformed elements and ornaments of Greek art, like the palmette (Müller 2014), this does not help us to understand how and why it was introduced.

It has been shown how the complicated designs of objects of Early Latène art were conceived and painfully constructed with the help of circles. However, this does not reduce fascination with the objects and style, on the contrary. It even enhances our awe for the artists; it does so in the present and probably did even more so in the past. There is hardly a more apt example to be found for Alfred Gell's (1992) phrase "technology of enchantment" than Latène art. Without mentioning it explicitly, his concept bears close resemblance to the "worldview" concept of Berger and Luckmann. As pointed out above, for them fissures in worldviews are unavoidable, and they wonder why they do not happen more often. One answer lies in Gell's idea of the "enchantment of technology" which is essentially a "technology of enchantment". Because of its existence "art provides one of the technical means whereby individuals are persuaded of the necessity and desirability of the social order which encompasses them" (ibid., 44). Latène art presents such an enchantment, as it is really "supposed to dazzle the beholder and weaken his grip on himself" (ibid.).

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[4] Latène art is certainly no monolith. It shows an internal development first pointed out by the seminal work of Jacobsthal (1944), but we do not have to deal here with the intricacies of art history. For up-to-date accounts see, for example, Historisches Museum Bern, and Landesmuseum Württemberg Stuttgart (2009) or Julia Farley and Fraser Hunter (2015). On the beginning of Latène art see also Hans Nortmann (2016).

At first sight, Latène art does not present itself as a legitimizing tool: The polysemity of its forms (**Fig. 4**) seems to offer a certain degree of subversiveness; but in order to work in such a manner, it must be connected to political offices and power: "Art objects are produced in order to be displayed on those occasions when political power is being legitimized by association with various supernatural forces" (ibid., 54). At least from the find contexts that we encounter archaeologically, there can be little doubt that objects decorated in the new emerging style were used and presented by those in offices and power, i.e. within richly furnished graves. Even if Latène art originated in non-elite circles, it soon was claimed by the individuals holding hegemonic positions and transformed into an instrument of legitimising power[5].

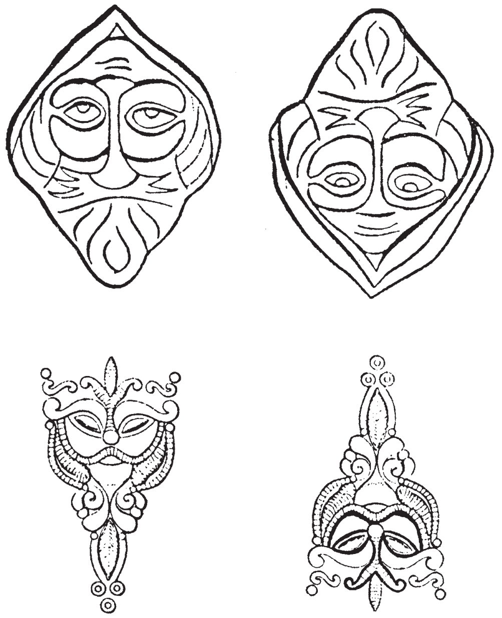

Fig. 4. Frowning or smiling faces on Latène objects, depending on the view of the beholder (after Lenerz-de Wilde 1982, 107 fig. 1–2).

DISCUSSION

In the preceding paragraphs, I have highlighted several instances that could be regarded as evidence that at the end of the Hallstatt period tensions in all sorts of directions indeed arose. Archaeologically, the most visible material is found in the burial domain: Here we have, on the one hand, the princely graves, which dominate the picture and are more and more lavishly furnished. On the other hand, we have a growing number of settlement burials with very little to no investment. I cannot imagine that this tension was not also painfully obvious for the contemporaneous population. The visible sign that this really could have been the case is the growing number of grave re-openings. One can interpret this as a decline in the moral bindings and legitimating force of traditional custom. Such an idea was already put forward by Pauli, who with a very original thought suggested that the Latène style might be the result or the by-product of a millenarian movement. Other tensions probably abounded, for example, between the old and young. During the course of the Hallstatt period, the princely graves apparently were increasingly limited to mature men, who probably monopolised access to power, resources and females. Other reasons cannot ruled out, of course. For example, Bettina Arnold (1991; 1995) and Siegfried Kurz (2009; 2010) argued that the economic system underwent severe pressure towards the end of the Hallstatt period, so that the redistribution system collapsed and subjects turned against their rulers.

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[5] Farley and Hunter (2015, 62) make the case that Latène art owed its emergence to the existence of small-scale competing groups for which the new style "became a powerful way for people to show that they were someone special". However, it would still have been used by the upper strata of society as a means to express their hegemonic position.

Furthermore, we have isolated events, such as those on the Heuneburg, where we can observe the burning of the clay brick wall, the re-organisation of the acropolis and finally the abandonment of the site – all hints towards violent actions.

Among all these indices in the sense of Charles Sanders Peirce (1955), we observe Latène art. Its beginnings – by chance or effect (?) – also date to a similar time period. While it may have its origins in Greek precursors, it developed such a force that it influenced artists over large regions and over centuries to come. It seems very questionable that an art style could have developed such a force without being part of a more all-encompassing worldview, providing answers to pressing common-day and extraordinary questions. In traditional societies, art is no end in itself; it is closely connected to other spheres of meaning which usually do not survive archaeologically. Latène art and the worldview that was connected to it provided new answers and new means to and sources of power.

However, all these instances can be supported by very diverse factual bases. The events relating to the Heuneburg are relatively 'hard' archaeological facts, which include the burial re-openings and the settlement burials. The tensions listed above are only deduced; they depend on specific interpretations. To make it even worse, it is not certain if all these things are really related. The relative and absolute chronology of the Early Iron Age, including Early Latène, has been under constant debate in the last decades, and periodization can differ to up to five decades, depending on the scholar. In **figure 5**, all items have been tabulated and synchronized as best as possible. Of course, there is no intrinsic relationship between, for example, changing burial customs and the emergence of Latène art, or between the Heuneburg events and the re-opening of burial mounds, except that they all happened during a similar time period. Ultimately, it depends on the narrative that holds the different events together (see below).

In view of the temporal and spatial set-offs, a revolutionary conflagration does not seem very likely, but particularly for centres like the Heuneburg with its temporarily relative immense density of population, which in itself must have been strenuous and socially demanding, it is very conceivable that the established order was temporarily toppled and that these events – as one piece among several others – contributed to societal changes. Such processes are certainly not properly labelled 'revolutions', but the term 'social unrest' seems applicable even to traditional societies as those we can presuppose for the Early Iron Age. However, even if the personal was exchanged, the imagery of the Iron Age does not leave us with the impression that the ideal of hegemonic masculinity had changed substantially. To imply from the more uniform burials of the so-called 'Flachgräberlatène' (Flat grave Latène) that Iron Age society of that time followed an ideology of equality is naive at best. A far more likely explanation is that the means to display power and influence had transferred to other domains of social life.

CONCLUSIONS

In a theoretical as well as historiographical very interesting paper, to which this essay owes much, Sabine Rieckhoff (2007) compared two papers by Wolfgang Kimmig (1983), on the one hand, and Pauli (1980; also 1984; 1985; 1995) on the other, which both tell a story of the so-called Hallstatt period. But while Kimmig's story is – as Rieckhoff has dubbed it – essentially a Third World narrative, with the people north of the alps desperately longing for the allurements of the immensely superior Mediterranean civilisation, Pauli tells of upheaval, revolution, and unrest in the Hallstatt area, of tensions between the so-called Hallstatt princes and their subjects. It is worth noting that, despite the clear differences, both narratives are based on the same meta-narrative – that of the Hallstatt princes.

Rieckhoff makes it clear that the very different character of these two stories has much to do with the upbringing of Kimmig and Pauli, who belonged to two different generations. Taking the differentiation by Rieckhoff a little bit further, I think it is possible to generally

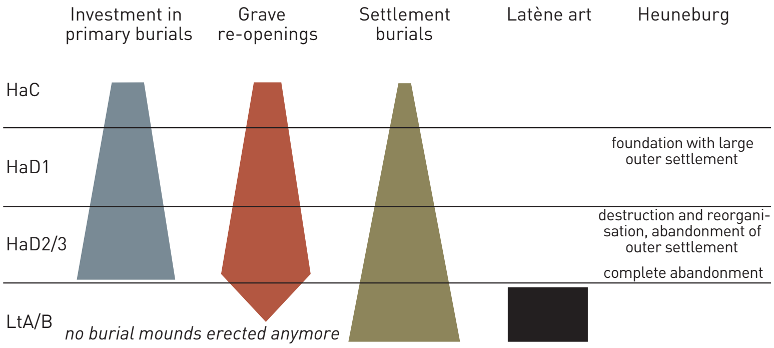

Fig. 5. Synchronization of the different strands of evidence for uprisings during the Early Iron Age of Central Europe.

divide the existing narratives about the end of the so-called Hallstatt culture in Southwestern Germany into two large parties: Neglecting all subtleties, the first favours a dynastic model with battles between the so-called princes, which essentially led to the decline of the princely culture. The other could be dubbed "revolution from underneath", because the proponents of this narrative see war and destruction as a result of discontented subordinates. It is perhaps interesting to note that the first narrative is mainly told by scholars very closely connected to Baden-Wurttemberg (e.g. Schiek 1956; Biel 1985; Krausse 1996), while the other narrative stems from scholars, who come from outside Baden-Wurttemberg (e.g. Kahrstedt 1937/38 [1940]; Arnold 1995).

Both sides use very similar arguments as the basis of their very different narratives, which to a more or lesser degree overlap with the points presented above. It lays in the nature of much archaeological reasoning – as its strength or weakness (?) – that the very same facts can be used to underpin very contradictory narratives[6].

Narratives are important, because only by narrating the past are we able to connect seemingly disparate events and make sense of them (Rüsen 1982; see also Rieckhoff 2007). They serve as a kind of paradigm in the sense of Thomas Kuhn (1989) into which our findings are fitted, until the strains on the paradigm get too strong (if they ever do). In essence, the power of the narrative decides if we choose to believe the narrator – or is it the other way round? There are no necessities in the order and the causation of events, only what we make of the events. Apart from the question on how convincing a narrative really is, it remains a question of personal taste and inclination which narrative one chooses to favour. For my part, I find the narrative on uprisings and internal struggles far more interesting than the one-dimensional story of, for example, the fall of the dynasty of the princely Heuneburg family. Conversely, I also think that it is important to remind oneself that such a narrative is only one possible view and that one cannot hope to incorporate all possible facts. The possibility of a broken, unfinished narrative remains.

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[6] For a slightly different narrative, see Manuel Fernandez-Götz (this volume).

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Ulrich Müller

GET UP – STAND UP: THE HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF RESISTANCE

ABSTRACT

“21 million slaves worldwide is a great business” – as recently summarized by the special correspondent of the United Nations for slavery, Urmila Bhoola, on the situation of slavery in the 21st century. Beyond the usual measures, she emphasized the responsibility and the influence of individuals to fight against this most extreme form of inequality[1]. Unlike that of ancient or modern times, slavery in the 21st century often appears to be invisible. It manifests itself in not only specific working conditions, lodging or wages but also in produced and consumed products. In comparison, the Monday demonstrations in the GDR in 1989/1990 are meanwhile a part of history. They are not only a part of the “revolutions” that occurred at the turn of the 1980s but are also a symbol for peaceful mass protests at specific places during certain times. Unlike the Berlin Wall, which enabled the creation of a materially existent, and above all symbolic and medial marketable place of remembrance, the protests in Leipzig, Dresden, Plauen and other places appear considerably more intangible at first glance. Thus, only photo, film and recorded documents seem to communicate the materiality of the protests[2]. Can archaeology, therefore, during periods with so-called dense tradition even deal with such a topic as protest and resistance? In order to clarify this question, the following will cast a look at various times and collectives. On the one hand, a “slave prison” and settlements of self-freed slaves (“maroons”) from the 18th and 19th centuries are discussed. On the other hand, an analysis of a “peace-camp” as a form of resistance in the 20th century is presented. The examples are intended to finally identify the methods, problems and potentials of “archaeology of resistance” for historical epochs.

THE MATERIALITY OF RESISTANCE

When approaching this subject as an “historical archaeologist” for a timeframe during which the terms “revolt”, “revolution” or “resistance” were decisively conceptualized, it becomes clear that there is no uniform definition of these terms or comparable concepts such as “civil disobedience” or “right of resistance”[3]. From a sociological perspective, the close connection between resistance in a broader sense and power has been repeatedly pointed out (Laktisch 2013). Resistance can develop on an institutional level, but is often understood to be extra-institutional. Moreover, dominance and resistance are profane practices of daily life. Thus, different impact levels and ranges can be designated – extending from “nonconformist behaviour” and “re-

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[1] [http://www.ipg-journal.de/kurzinterview/artikel/21-millionen-sklaven-weltweit-sind-ein-gutes-geschaeft-692/].

[2] Cf. the Lebendige Museum Online (LeMO). [https://www.dhm.de/lemo/].

[3] In addition, numerous terms, such as riot or insurrection, have different historical contents in German than in English.

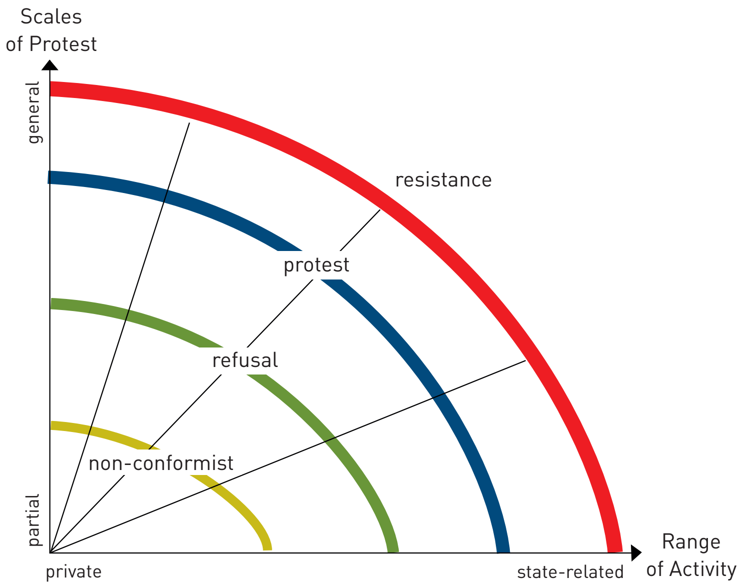

Fig. 1. Scales of protest (graph: J. Cordts).

fusal" to "protest" (**Fig. 1**). From this perspective, protests are to be categorized as a part of "social movements". According to Felix Kolb (2002, 10), a social movement is

> *"[…] a network consisting of organisations and individuals bound on the basis of a shared collective identity, who attempt to initiate, oppose or roll back social, political, economic or cultural change primarily with the help of non-institutional tactics".*

Included in the social movements of the 18th and the 19th centuries are, among others, the abolitionist movement, the labour movement or the feminist movement at the transition of the 19th to the 20th century. Since the 20th century, these movements have expanded and the actors are no longer just operating within parties, institutions or unions. They are to be found in movements such as the anti-nuclear, the ecology and the peace movements particularly of the 1980s or the occupy-movement of the 21st century.

In the investigation of resistance, the contribution of an archaeologist lies both in an evaluation of its material characteristics and in comparative (cultural) studies. Leading from the materiality of resistance, manifestations of resistance can be scrutinized and related to the conception and legitimacy of resistance and domination. Social encounters implement a variety of forms of action in order to articulate and assert interests. These forms of action ("forms of resistance or protest") can be passive or active and/or violent or non-violent. The assessment of the level of escalation of the respective forms of action is ultimately dependent on the respective socially accepted or established norms (Sharp 1973; Roberts/Garton Ash 2009). Regardless of such assessments, protests are initially "bodies in action", in which vulnerability and the power to inflict injury are particularly clear. While there are a number of mostly sociological or ethnological studies on this topic (e.g. Pabst 2011), there are barely any analyses on the materiality of resistance. Although such resistance-studies are a special category within culture and social science research, they rely heavily on text analyses or empirical work without taking objects into account. How comprehensively "materiality" can be conceptualized is shown, for example, in the studies of Beverley Butler (1996) or Nélia Dias (2010). On the one hand, protests against the construction of a highway in Great Britain at the end of the 20th century were investigated and, on the other hand, infrastructural measures taken by France during the 19th century in its colonies and the associated resistance were discussed. Significant are not least the analyses carried out by the anarchy researcher and anthropologist James C. Scott (2009). In his work *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, he was concerned with the region of "Zomia". This is a highland region of ca. 2.5 million km^2 in Southeast Asia, where numerous ethnic and cultural minorities live. The region appears to have largely eluded state control. Scott identified the inhabitants as refugees from modernity, who resist the assimilation pressure of capitalistic societies and state systems, and live according to counter models. These counter models do not manifest themselves in complex, discursive processes but rather in life-world practices. Material objects that are tied to specific economic forms and infrastructures serve as active elements in resistance or stand for state influence. For example, according to Scott their insistence on shifting cultivation practices prevents the expansion of economic and political control systems.

With the introduction of wet rice cultivation and sophisticated irrigation systems, the social structures would have been permanently destroyed and replaced by "capitalistic regimes".

Without going into the basics and the results of Scott's study – it is quite controversially discussed – the "materiality discourse" is nevertheless remarkable. The author highlights how collectives and individuals express themselves in their life-situations through their use of objects and that they also use these as central elements of resistance strategies. Although Scott's analysis does not profess to examine materiality as such, the relations between social practice and the agency of things are amply clear.

OPPOSITION IN THE THICKET OF SUB-DISCIPLINES

Resistance, rebellion and revolution have long been subjects of archaeological disciplines, even if the topics have largely been confined to the English-speaking world. Contributions to the "archaeology of resistance" can be identified for historical periods with different temporal, spatial and material foci and overlaps, namely:

1) Traditional, North American style historical archaeology, which addresses resistance with a primary emphasis on slavery;
2) Conflict archaeology, which examines sites of hostilities as well as the forms of conflict action;
3) Contemporary archaeology, which variously deals with forms of resistance, particularly in industrialized societies from the mid-20th century to the present day.

The methods and techniques of these archaeological disciplines do not significantly differ from those of other archaeological disciplines. Prospecting and excavations, finds and features, stratigraphy and typologies, dating and material analyses also constitute the focus of this scientific research. These methods and techniques particularly play a central role for the analysis of sub-recent conflicts. With temporal proximity to present times, the avenues of investigation are more highly differentiated and are not solely limited to data that has been recovered through excavations (Harrison/Schofield 2010, 54–60). In particular, contemporary archaeology applies methods of ethno-archaeology and the empirical social sciences (Fewster 2013; Harrison/Schofield 2010, 90–98; Graves-Brown et al. 2013a).

Historical archaeology

Historical archaeology initially denoted the archaeology of the colonization of North America. The term was and is also used for the archaeology of Australia and Oceania and transatlantic relations in the modern era. In recent years, it has been used as an umbrella term, gaining enormous popularity, although it is often not quite clear what exactly is meant by the label "historical archaeology". As the lowest common denominator, it may be argued that it designates archaeology in societies with parallel record transmission (especially written sources). Particularly after Anders Andrén (1998) discussed historical archaeology as a methodological approach and therefore claimed a globalized perspective, a restriction of it in Europe to the modern era appears to be emerging (Majewski/Gaimster 2009; Mehler 2013). In German-speaking areas, "archaeology of the Middle Ages and Modern Times" still dominates (Müller 2013; Mehler 2013). Recent times have been defined – above all by Claudia Theune-Vogt (2014) – as "modern archaeology" and described as a part of "historical archaeology".

Classical topics of North American style historical archaeology were and are North American civil wars and slavery. Whereas the majority of the analyses on events or places of the Civil War focused on the military aspects of the conflicts ("battlefield") and hardly deal with resistance, the examination of resistance in times of slavery can be defined as a long established field of research (Weik 2013; Marshall 2014). Moreover, there are also studies that investigate the resistance of the indigenous population (e.g. Wilcox 2009). With the spatial and temporal expansion of historical archaeology, Oceania, Central and South America and the African continent have become areas of research interest. In the process, not only contributions on the resistance of slaves have increased and thus concentrate on regions outside of North America and the Caribbean. Interest has also been extended to subjects of the 19th and 20th centuries. Thus, repression and resistance in Latin America (e.g. Langebaek 2009) as well as forms of resistance in Mexico (e.g. Liebmann 2012) or Ethiopia (González-Ruibal 2014) have also been on the agenda. Numerous contributions on the archaeology of capitalism were also concerned with riots or disputes (e.g. Matthews 2010, 177–178; Shackel 2009, 53–61; Croucher/Weiss 2011).

Battlefield archaeology | Archaeology of conflict

"Battlefield archaeology" can look back on a long research and technical tradition that draws on very heterogeneous scientific and non-scientific interests, covering diverse timeframes. In this sense, it is not congruent with historical archaeology. A milestone in the development of battlefield archaeology was and is the time of the North American civil wars and campaigns against the indigene population (Little Big Horn). There, battlefield archaeology was and is a part of historical archaeology. In essence, however, battlefield archaeology is both temporally and thematically more extensive, because it deals with all tangible legacies of military actions. Nevertheless, a focus is placed on the investigation of the battlefield, which is often concerned with not only the use of prospective but also forensic techniques. With its expansion beyond the battlegrounds, battlefield archaeology has been expanded not only spatially and in substance but also has enabled an orientation towards conflict archaeology (Cornish/Saunders 2014; Carmann 2013; Moshenska 2013). Conflict archaeology deals not only with the reconstruction of the processes of hostilities or associated military operations but also focuses on the technical, social, cultural and psychological aspects of conflicts with regard to anthropological aspects. Accordingly, conflict archaeology questions the preconditions, accompanying phenomena and consequences of conflicts (Pollard/Banks 2005). In recent years, the role of archaeology in light of military conflicts as well as its responsibility for cultural heritage has been strongly questioned (González-Ruibal/Moshenska 2014). Furthermore, conflicts are not merely limited to military confrontations and are not necessarily expressed in physical violence. This leads the study of conflict archaeology in the direction of resistance studies.

At least in the understanding of Nicholas J. Saunders (Cornish/Saunders 2014), conflict archaeology strongly focuses on modern conflicts, since due to their complexity they can provide insights and retrospective views into the structure of conflicts of times past. The Journal of Conflict Archaeology (JCA), introduced in 2005, understands itself as a platform for topics of conflict archaeology. The journal perceives "conflict in its broadest possible sense", whereby it intends to be "a vehicle for a wide variety of approaches, promoting diversity and a holistic outlook" (Pollard/Banks 2005, V). In this function, the JCA straddles – in the sense of world archaeology – not only space but also timeframes so that Mesolithic conflicts are handled as well as conflicts of the 21st century. Scanning the JCA for keywords, terminology and themes such as "revolt", "rebellion", "revolution" or "terrorism" and "anarchism" are represented. Usually, they are discussed in the context of national or international conflicts, for example, resistance during the American Civil War, international brigades in the Spanish Civil War or desertion. In German-speaking countries, battlefield archaeology has first been established in recent years. The scenes of battlefields are still the centre of interest, even if increasing attention is being paid to the contents of conflicts (Brock/Homann 2011; Eickhoff 2014).

Archaeology of the contemporary past

In recent decades, the second half of the 20th century and the 21st century have been "discovered" by archaeology. The impetus of this development originated, in particular, from the Anglo-American sphere. In this research community, the study of the recent and most recent past is not only more highly anchored within the research tradition but a cultural-anthropological approach is also frequently advocated, which is rather represented by social science disciplines or by European ethnology in the German-speaking research community. Meanwhile, one can speak of an independent contemporary archaeology or archaeology of the contemporary past, which has been established in various countries (Graves-Brown et al. 2013b; Olsen/Pétursdóttir 2014). In Germany, this research direction is currently scarcely represented. A distinction between historical archaeology and archaeology of the contemporary past is not useful, since the same topics are ultimately discussed.

Comparable to historical archaeology, archaeology of the contemporary past also includes numerous approaches, topics and methods. In any case, it conducts archaeological investigations on periods with so-called dense tradition. Therefore, "materiality" must also be interpreted broadly. In essence, it refers to "objects", but it can just as well include films or digital contents. This means that analyses are not necessarily the products of excavations or surveys. Not least, archaeology of the contemporary past is also self-reflexive archaeology (González-Ruibal 2008; González-Ruibal 2013). The active participation and the responsibility of an archaeologist is indeed a central topic:

> *"[Contemporary archaeology] will allow us to explore whether such social changes are indeed a product of new technology and its associated speed and rate of change, or whether explanation of social change might be better sought elsewhere. The archaeology of the contemporary past is indeed an archaeology for our times – a new approach that allows us to look at some of the most pressing social and cultural circumstances of the contemporary world in a different way"*
>
> (Harrison/Schofield 2010, 284).

With a look at "revolution", "rebellion" or "resistance", very diverse themes and approaches are analysed. For instance, British research has particularly promoted investigations of relics from the Cold War (Cocroft/Thomas 2007). These also include studies on protest, particularly the numerous analyses of John Schofield (Schofield 2006; Schofield/Cocroft 2007; Schofield 2009). Further studies were conducted on protest camps of social-political movements (Schofield/Anderton 2000; Badcock/Johnston 2009; Dixon 2013) as well as on conflicts of workers (Badcock/Johnston 2013) or places of terrorist attacks (Wilson 2011). In addition, in recent years the projects on the Spanish Civil War have acquired national and international attention (González-Ruibal 2012). Further studies were devoted to prisons of the times of the Northern Ireland Civil War from 1970–1980 (McAtackney 2014), migrant camps in Southern Italy (Pisoni 2013), escape tunnels in Berlin[4], graffiti (Lydon 2014) or places of homelessness (Zimmermann 2013). Such investigations focus on "resistance" in various ways, which is not least due to the diversity of the subjects.

SLAVERY AND RESISTANCE

A classic topic of archaeological resistance research is the investigation of slavery in modern times. In slavery, the relationship between the institutional and non-institutional legitimation of domination on the basis of racial inequality is particularly apparent. A social system, such as slavery, which is defined with racial superiority as the social norm, provokes resistance at various levels. Particularly in modern times, a plethora of hardly manageable publications and research on slavery exists so that further information on the history of slavery as well as a discussion of political, economical and societal motives will not be provided here.

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[4] [http://www.fluchttunnel-glienicke.de/].

As emphasized by Charles E. Orser and Pedro P.A. Funari (2001) in their contribution on "Archaeology and Slave Resistance", historical and anthropological studies support and influence archaeology since the 1970s. At the same time, it was the participation in/or the preoccupation with the (American) civil rights movement that often caused archaeologists to take a view of their colonial past and pose questions in the current political discourses about historical path dependence of that time. Starting from discourses on "ethnicity" and "race", research was increasingly focused on "dominance and resistance". In turn, these lines of development were associated with changing approaches in the interpretation of material culture. Beyond a more or less static understanding of traditional historical culture, objects were attributed an active role in social and cultural practices. Whereas the topic of slave resistance during the mid-1990s was certainly still considered as "relatively new to archaeology as a whole" (Singleton 1995, 128), it has hitherto been established as an independent field of research (Weik 2013; Marshall 2014).

Scenes of action and forms of resistance were initially investigated on the basis of plantations, whereby uprisings were concentrated on as well as plantation economy (e.g. Lenik 2014). As a further topic, places of residence and settlements of self-freed slaves ("maroons"; Agorsah 1993; Sayers 2014) were analysed. In recent years, studies on places and participants of the "underground railroad" were also conducted (Weik 2013, chap. 5). In general, it became apparent that resistance is not necessarily reflected in horizons of destruction.

> "*Defining slave resistance merely to include plots and acts of overt rebellion is unduly limiting and misleading […] it is necessary to define slave resistance to include all forms of resistance short of actual (or proposed) overt action. This proposes a whole spectrum of activities and behavior, shading from covert sabotage, through manifestations of internal rejection and anomie, to forms of dissimulated acceptance and accommodation that were, perhaps, as subversive as other forms*"
>
> (Craton 1997, 222).

Thus, a study of resistance must be much more comprehensive. In particular, analyses on Africa as well as on Central and South America or Canada must be initiated. In addition, post-colonial discourses must be considered in which questions on power and domination, class affiliation and globalization in the context of current politics must be introduced (Weik 2013, 153–154). The scientific discussion of slavery is not only limited to the scientific community. Dealing with the topic of slavery is also an expression of political positioning (Sayers 2015). In particular, within post-colonial studies the question has been raised about whose story is being told and who is working on it (Funari/Orser 2015). The participation of the involved persons, whose history is being researched and documented, is particularly important for slavery, since it is a matter of letting the African and Afro-American population take part in their cultural heritage. This concerns scientific investigations and non-scientific activities alike and the implementation of scientific studies for the general public (White 2010a).

The slave jail of Joseph Bruin

The history and archaeology of a "slave prison" is important in several respects. A concept of the delineation between prison/jail or detention camp is fundamentally difficult due to their complex historical genesis. For Michel Foucault, they are places and spaces of power techniques. A prison is intended to punish individuals but also collectives for defined actions. This can also apply to detention camps, whereby their purpose is also "prevention" by locking up, excluding, re-educating or destroying entire groups or collectives. According to Alan Kramer (Greiner/Kramer 2013, 23), "mainly imperialistic, nationalistic, racist, ideological, hierarchical and dictatorial thinking and superiority conceptions enabled camp systems to arise as disciplinary measures". Although the detention camp is a phenomenon of the 20th century, it is rooted in the ideas of the 19th century.

Prisons and detention camps have primarily become the focus of archaeology through excavations at locations in connection with the American Civil War, the Nazi era, Stalinism or the Spanish Civil War (Theune-Vogt 2014; González-Ruibal 2012). Studies about prisons of democratically legitimized states are rarely encountered (McAtackney 2014)[5]. However, comprehensive research is being carried out about penitentiaries in Australia (cf. Gibbs 2012).

During times of slavery, prisons for slaves were not only places of punishment and disciplining but were also used as "warehouses". In the USA, particularly the Lumpkins Jail in Richmond, Virginia (Laird 2010) and the slave prison of Joseph Bruin in Alexandria, Virginia have been archaeologically investigated (Kraus et al. 2007; Kraus 2009). A relatively dense chronology exists about the slave trader Joseph Bruin[6]. He was active as a slave trader in the middle of the 19th century. The slaves purchased by him were sold primarily in the southeast, especially to New Orleans. As of 1844, he used his house, located at Duke Street 1707, as a "warehouse". In coeval sources, it was denoted as a "jail" and served to incarcerate the slaves until their resale.

Joseph Bruin became indirectly known to the general public through *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a novel published by Harriet Beecher Stowe in 1852. He represents the epitome of the greedy, inhuman slave trader, whose intention was the "repurchase" of 76 freed slaves. In 1848, abolitionists planned the release of 76 slaves, who were to be released into freedom from Washington on the ship "Pearl". Betrayal foiled the undertaking and the majority of the slaves were bought by Joseph Bruin. Among the slaves were four brothers and two sisters aged 14–16, known as the "Edmondson sisters". Due to their ages and their light skin as mulattoes, they were sold at a profit and believed to have been forced into prostitution. A comprehensive campaign launched by abolitionists attempted to prevent this. Sermons, rallies and other effective public measures as well as the personal commitment of the redeemed father of the family also put pressure on Joseph Bruin. He initially refused to accept a redemption offer totalling $1000 and shipped the sisters to New Orleans. A local yellow fever epidemic forced him to send his "precious cargo" back to Alexandria and to agree to the redemption payment of $2250.

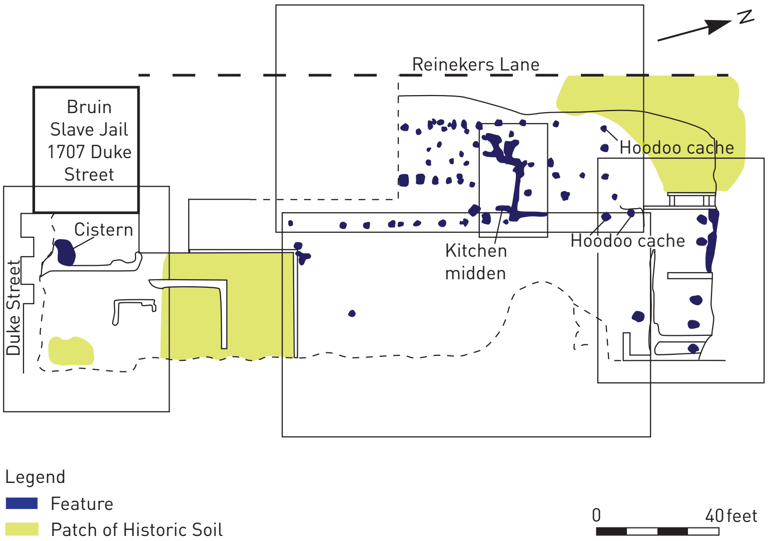

Fig. 2. Alexandria, Virginia/USA. Jospeh Bruin Slave Jail. Plan of features and excavations in the slave quarter area (plan: J. Cordts after Krauss 2009, 145 fig. 26).

Beyond the analysis of written sources, excavations in the surroundings of the existing building were possible (Kraus 2009, 112–174; **Fig. 2**). Directly behind the house, archaeologists found evidence of huts and a kitchen from the mid-19th century. The main house, a brick building, did not provide enough space so that a separate building was required. A cistern uncovered during the excavations is connected with the personal fate of the Edmonton siblings. It was part of the laundry where the sisters worked (Kraus 2009, 135–140). Archaeozoological analyses indicate the consumption of cattle and sheep (Kraus 2009, 158). Mainly extremities and heads are identified, which can be understood as both the utilisation of slaughterhouse waste from the neighbouring slaughterhouses of the West End and traditional preparation techniques (**Fig. 3.1–3.2**).

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[5] Cf. the blog contribution "The Archaeology of Modern Prison Resistance". [http://prisonphotography.org/2009/07/06/the-archaeology-of-modern-prison-resistance/].

[6] On the following Lisa Kraus (2009, 48–71).

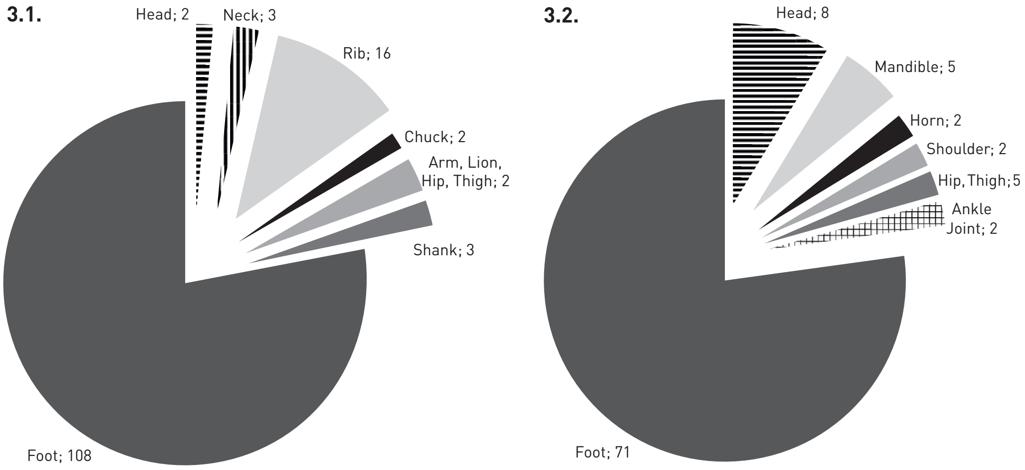

Fig. 3. Alexandria, Virginia/USA. Summary of cattle (3.1) and sheep or goat (3.2) body parts by feature (MNI).

Of importance are mainly references to ritual-spiritual activities of the internees (Kraus 2009, 164–169). Four pits (Fig. 2) from the mid-19th century are linked to magical-religious acts. In particular, Hoodoo practices – a religious doctrine that originated from West African, Indian and Protestant influences among Afro-Americans in North America – are indicated. The interpretations are based, on the one hand, on the bones of a complete chicken (pit 57) and, on the other hand, on other animal bones and remains from pits 60 and 61. Moreover, in one pit the almost complete remains of ceramics, pieces of broken glass and iron nails were found. In all three cases, we are not dealing with storage pits, but rather hiding places due to the context of the findings. Such hiding places are also known from other slave quarters. Due to the specific composition of the finds, these pits are usually associated with Hoodoo. Revealed were collections that were ritually hidden and buried: "collections of carefully selected objects arranged in patterns dictated by ritual practice" (Kraus 2009, 184). On a modest level, it was possible for the inmates of the prison to practice their beliefs in captivity. In contrast to other slave traders, Joseph Bruin did not prohibit ritual and spiritual ceremonies such as prayers or bible studies.

With the analyses on "slave prisons", places of activities are recorded where not only racial segregation was manifested and legitimised in daily practices. The prisons are also places where the functional logic of the valorisation of human capital comes to light. Analogous to markets and auctions, the transformation of humans to commodities is especially evident here. Resistance seldom occurred in an open and active manner at these places. But resistance can be manifested both in the form of religious practices and the emergent social ties as well as in the attempt to achieve a sense of normality.

Locations of self-liberated African communities ("maroons")

The prisons continue to represent a marginal phenomenon of the archaeology of slavery, whereas the locations of maroon settlements are an integral part of research on resistance (Weik 2013, chap. 4; Sayers 2015). The term "maroon" is derived from the Spanish word "cimarrón", meaning "wild animal" or "runaway pet" in Latin American Spanish. Thus, the expression is a political word of disqualification so that the phrase "self-liberated African communities" seems more appropriate. In this context, black African slaves and their descendants are meant who fled from plantations and established hidden settlements. Communities of maroons are found in the West Indies, Central, South and North America. The history of the maroons is historically, ethnologically and socially researched to varying extents. In the investigations, the confrontation of each country with its colonial past is mirrored in the public and within research, whereby archaeology as a discipline outside of the scientific community is particularly significant (White 2010a). The study of the associated material culture and the interest of archaeology in the maroons already began in the 1950s and 1960s, however, this first became an established subject not least against the backdrop of the social and post-colonial movements of the 1970s (Weik 2013, 56–64). The focus of research was mainly directed towards the Caribbean and North America. In North America, the settlements and legacies of the maroons in North Carolina and Virginia are the primary focus of research.

Consequently, the story of the maroons in the "Great Dismal Swamp", an inaccessible marshland, is intensively researched. They formed a community between 1700 and 1860 that consisted of several thousand migrants. In addition to the maroons, further migrants, such as white workers, deserted soldiers or indigenous groups, found refuge there (Sayers 2014). Over the past 30 years, a number of studies have also been published on the archaeology of the "maroons" in Central and South America. From the various studies, two examples are singled out in the following, because they implement different methodological approaches: landscape historical analyses on the maroons of St. Croix, Virgin Islands (Lesser Antilles) and the rainforest settlements of Tuido and Kumako in Suriname.

The analysis of settlements of the maroons is not only interesting in terms of resistance but such a study also touches numerous methodological aspects. The hiding places or settlements are mostly located at inaccessible sites. This impedes not only their discovery but also prospective measures or excavations. At hidden, intentionally inconspicuous locations, the features often appear undifferentiated. Thus, the span between a temporary hiding place and a (semi)permanent settlement is quite large. In general, the question arises, how and through which physical manifestations can individuals or collectives in flight or during a migration be distinguished. Holly Norton and Christopher Espenshade (2007, 6–7) discuss possible scenarios for the choice of hiding places and accommodations. "Site locations have been selected […] with concealment […] [or] with defensibility in mind" (Norton/Espenshade 2007, 6–7). This means, "Maroons would have made a concerted effort to reduce their signatures on the landscape". This primarily concerns the features and "due to lack of building materials and risk of loss to slave hunters, the Maroons likely utilized indestructible, ready-made rock shelters or caves for many of their sites. […] Maroon refuge sites would not have been located on the landforms targeted by normal archaeological survey" (Norton/Espenshade 2007, 6–7). In addition, the precipitation of finds also mirrors this special situation. "Depending on the amount of interaction between the refuge Maroons, enslaved African Caribbeans, freedmen, and others (e.g., pirates), the Maroons may have had limited material possessions".

With the establishment of stable communities and settlements ("gran maroons"), better research conditions are available, but these also provoke new questions. Which cultural, religious or also ethnic communities or group relations can be interpreted from the materials? What "outside" contacts are perceptible and what changes occurred within the communities?

The methodological possibilities in the search for lodgings and settlement of the maroons can be shown by the example of St. Croix. After 1665, the island was under French rule (French West Indies Company) until it was sold in 1773 to the Danish West Indies Company. Until the abolition of slavery in 1848, the economy of St. Croix was determined by the use of slave labour on sugar cane plantations. St. Croix had a relatively large community of maroons (Hall/Higman 1992; Roopnarine 2010). There is some information about the community in the collective memory as well as in written and cartographic reports (Hopkins 2014), but historical locations are not precisely recorded (Norton/Espenshade 2007). In the northwest part of the island, toponyms such as "maroon ridge" indicate relevant locations. As preparations for planned field studies, Bo Ejstrud (2008) carried out GIS analyses in order to identify settlement locations. Ejstrud used spatial-statistical methods, such as cost-surface-analyses and viewsheets on the basis of historical maps, written sources and a digital terrain model in order to discern suitable locations of settlements with the implementation of predictive mapping. Based on the topography and relief, but also the locations of plantations and alleged path routes, he was able to identify a large area measuring 2–2.5 ha on the northeast part of the island. Its protected location offered excellent conditions for corresponding settlements of the maroons. Unfortunately, no excavations have been carried out.

In recent decades, research has particularly increased in South America (Funari/Orser 2015). Besides Brazil, Suriname can be considered to be well investigated. As of 1667, Suriname was a Dutch colony and formed with today's Guyana the colony of Dutch-Guiana. Its economy was based on the cultivation of sugar cane, coffee, cotton and cocoa. At the end of the 18th century, Dutch-Guiana was divided between France and the United Kingdom. In 1863, slavery was officially abolished. Since the early 20th century, the maroons in Suriname have already been the focus of anthropological and ethnological investigations (de Groot 2009). Much of today's population descends from the maroons and preserves respective traditions (Hoogbergen 2008; van Stipriaan 2009) that are important for the formation of identity (van Brakel 2012).

In Suriname, the escape of slaves initially began in the form of so-called "petit maronage", i.e. the escape of single persons or small groups. From this, the so-called "gran maronage" developed, i.e. the escape of entire collectives or clans. From the 17th and 18th centuries, a number of maroon trails are known (**Fig. 4**). The paths in the rainforest followed the natural conditions and were understandably oriented close to river systems. Besides directs flights from the plantations, the capital of Paramaribo offered a suitable starting point. Here, informal and infrastructural networks were active. At the same time, Paramaribo was also the central place where slaves were bought and sold. It is estimated that between 1667 and 1826 more than 300,000 slaves were sold. A clear imbalance existed between the colonial planters and the slaves. This favoured "maroonages". Historical and anthropological analyses suggest that cultural and ethnic communities were increasingly established over time. Thus, the fugitives seem to have selected specific regions and locations, which offered them the highest level of security. As a result of the maroonage phenomenon, numerous communities were established in the interior that currently exhibit populations ranging from 500–25000 inhabitants (Ngwenyama 2007, 58–60). With the peace between the Dutch colonial masters and the "Ndyuka Maroons" in 1760, a period of stabilization and recognition of the autonomous forest settlements was initiated. It can be concluded from the respective contents of the contracts that very little was known about the specific locations and structures of the forest settlements.

With the dissertation of Cheryl Ngwenyama (2007) und reports of Cheryl White (2009; 2010b), studies are available which combine archaeological and ethnoarchaeological research with the analysis of historical sources and oral tradition. In the framework of the "Maroon Heritage Research Project" (MHRP), the rainforest settlements of Tuido and Kumako were investigated. The examinations deal with two locations from the 18th century, which are also significant for the archaeology of maroons beyond Suriname (Goucher/Agorsh 2011, 155–160; Marshall 2014, 293–294). Both sites are located inland ca. 200 km from the coast. Kumako is situated ca. 10 km southwest of the "Prof. van Bloomenstein Lake". Tuido is located on Tukumuku Creek, one of the tributaries of the Saramaka River. Kumako was known by the Dutch as a settlement since 1713/16, but only sources from 1730 first mention large settlements, which consisted of several villages between 40–300 dwellings. Kumako was excavated in several campaigns between 1999 and 2004. One goal of the work was to examine the relationship and the influences between the indigenous, Afro-American and European groups in terms of their cultural practices. The surveys and excavations are even interesting from a technical perspective, since the areas were completely covered by the jungle, which enabled only small-scale excavations. Both sites are located ca. 75–100 m apart and are parts of a large settlement. Kumako 1 could be examined according to 13 test sections measuring approximately 2 x 2 m each. Kumako 2 is an area measuring ca. 5.6 km^2 that was further defined by six 15 x 15 m large excavation sections. White (2010b, 474) inter-

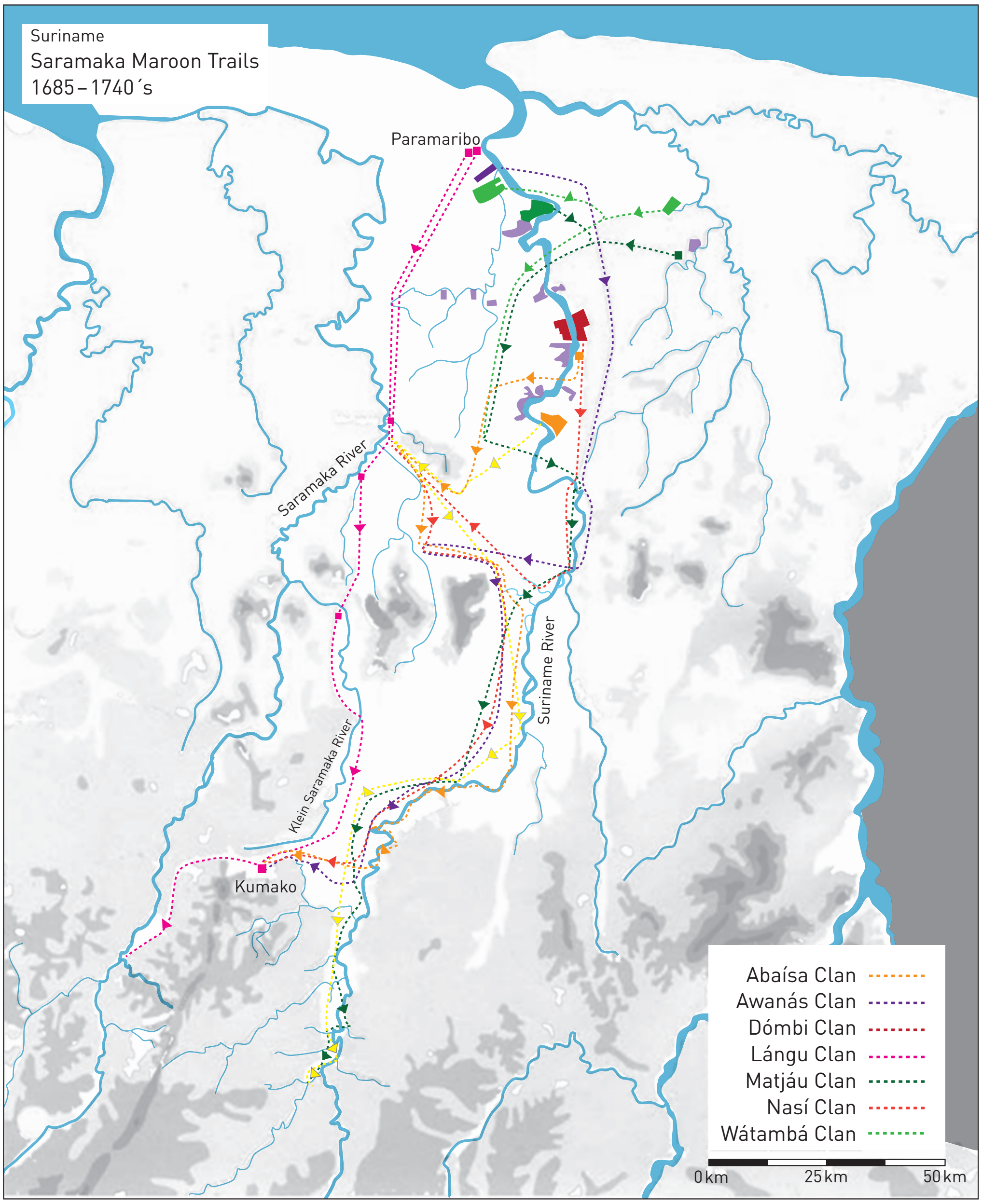
Suriname
Saramaka Maroon Trails
1685–1740´s
Paramaribo
Saramaka River
Suriname River
Klein Saramaka River
Kumako
Abaísa Clan
Awanás Clan
Dómbi Clan
Làngu Clan
Matjáu Clan
Nasí Clan
Wátambá Clan
0 km
25 km
50 km

Fig. 4. Suriname. Saramaka Maroon trails of the 17th and 18th centuries (map: J. Cordts, after Ngwenyama 2007, 64 fig. 2–4).

prets Kumako 1 as “areas for domestic activity” and Kumako 2 as a site for “ritual practices”, whereas Ngwenyama (2007) identifies differentiated structures for both sites. The 14-C datings verify the use of the sites between the late 3rd century AD and the early 19th century. The pottery also indicates a use phase of the locations before the occupation of the maroons. At least Kumako 2 appears to have been created with a nearly circular pattern and surrounded by a wall-ditch system (**Fig. 5**). Due to ethnological parallels, hilly structures are interpreted by Ngwenyama (2007) as the remains of collapsed huts which were often surrounded by a small ditch. It can be referred from contemporary written sources that palisades protected such huts. However, this is difficult to identify not least due to the small areas. Thus, White (2010b, 474) points to comparable features that can be assigned to an indigenous population. Furthermore, at Kumako 2 a centrally located area was examined

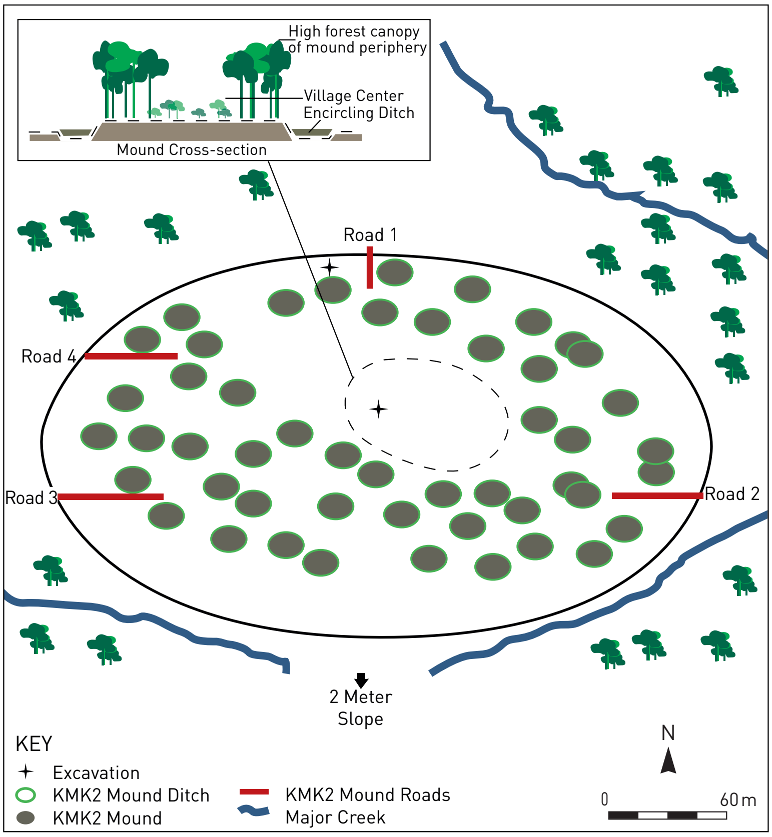

Fig. 5. Kumako 2, Suriname. Generalized plan with selected features of Kumako 2 (plan: J. Cordts, after Ngwenyama 2007, 180 fig. 6–12).

that Ngwenyama (White 2010b, 197–201) interpreted as a “village square” (Fig. 5). This interpretation is based on ethnoarchaeological comparisons and is supported by the fact that this was the only area completely free of old trees, enabling an almost complete view of the sky. Of importance is a round depression of ca. 3 m^2 that was dug about 2 m deep into the hill. It is interpreted on the basis of ethnological comparison, ceramic finds and botanical tradition as a place for ritual baths (“Ahgbang”) (White 2010b). Ritual washings can be verified especially among indigenous groups. The adoption of this practice by maroon communities is conceivable. In addition to indigenous ceramics and locally manufactured ceramic goods of maroon communities, there are also ceramic goods from North American or Europe, whereby one must assume differential contexts of use or these can be deduced.

Given this date range, it is legitimately discussed, whether Tuido and Kumako could not have also been settlements of the indigenous “Amazon population” (White 2010b). Ngwenyama (2007, 273–277) negates this with a reference to archaeological and ethno-historical comparisons, but also mentions that the settlements of the maroons are not closed systems. Local contact is quite probable and to be expected. The slaves that fled from the coastal areas passed through unknown and dangerous territory. The construction of stable settlements in the rainforest took place under difficult circumstances and probably did not occur without contact to the indigenous population. However, little is known about the cultural contacts between the freed slaves and the indigenous groups. Historical documents indicate very different reactions. On the one hand, indigenous peoples and maroons were legally equivalent but, on the other hand, they were treated very differently. Reports suggest that the advance of maroons in the rainforest led, in the long run, to migrations of Indians to “more inaccessible” regions. Maroon settlements, such as Kumako, were in some sense “trading posts” for trade or exchange with the colonial world. In this way, European “luxury goods” reached the jungle.

The settlements are, so to speak, islands in a potentially hostile colonial sea. They were protected against external influence and offered the communities internal social and cultural stability. The ritual-spiritual system is cited as a central element of this stability, which mediated protection and safety for the various groups in a quasi pan-African tradition.

Resistance in area I

Both examples result in very different worlds of resistance. In the slave prisons, active resistance was hardly possible. These detention camps were warehouses in the true sense of the word. In them, the notion of race superiority and thus dehumanization materialized. In comparison to prisons and detention camps, similar strategies of maintaining normality in exceptional situations are recognizable. For example, cultural ties play an important role (cf. Pisoni 2013). Specific for Africa, but certainly structurally transferable, is an orientation to forms of spiritual behaviour. In Hoodoo, fears, hopes and wishes are realized.

At the same time, Hoodoo can also function as a system of resistance, both in spiritual and political terms. The religious system enabled new connections and created its own communication channels that were largely sealed for whites. Materiality is only a comparatively small part of cultural practices, which are significantly influenced by orality.

The settlements of freed slaves are conceived as an entirely different category. "Maroon" existence was a means to escape slavery. It was implemented both individually and collectively. The settlements of the maroons – whether temporary or constant – were located in seclusion from the colonial world. At the same time, they were not excluded from colonial perception, since for the slaveholders they were a sign of failed repressive measures and for the slaves a continuous image of (self)-liberation. However, one should refrain from making simple interpretations. The settlements of the maroons were spatially delineated places of refuge for the black African population. However, they also seem to have sometimes offered refuge to other cultural or ethnic groups. Examples from Surinam also verify a complex network of exchange relationships with various degrees for the scope of action of the different actors.

"THICK DESCRIPTION": ARCHAEOLOGY OF A PROTEST CAMP

Since the beginning of the 20th century, protest camps have often been realized as isomorphic socio-spatial forms of protest. They stand for the idea of productive power in collective action and are an expression of social movements. Protests can relate to individual topics or places, projects or institutions, but also crosslink different economic and cultural spaces across local, regional and national boundaries. Examples of trans-local movements include the peace, women, ecology and anti-nuclear movements of the 1970s and 1980s, but also the occupy-movement or the "Arab Spring" (Kraushaar 2012; Décieux/Nachtwey 2014; Geiges 2014).

Protest camps are not exclusively an expression of political conditions but are also a manifestation of alternative lifestyles and economies. These accompany processes of identity formation. A protest camp can in many ways be regarded as a continuation of demonstrations or occupations since they serve the establishment of a protest over a longer period of time and provide a tangible and an intangible infrastructure for the protesters. They differ from direct actions, such as site occupancies, or from wagon barricades and other forms of alternative housing. In common, however, is that they each need an infrastructure in the form of basic services (such as water, food, waste disposal and energy).

Protest camps can arise in a spontaneous and unorganized manner, but also as planned actions. Moreover, they are normally public and not usually screened. This does not mean that they are accessible to everyone. Protest camps are exposed to publicity through the media and depend on the media for the articulation of their protests. Just as with demonstrations or more short-term occupations, the response from the public is dependent on a variety of external and internal factors. Because camps do not only serve as the expression of immediate protest but also have rather longer-term quality, they can develop a momentum that is not always easy to control. Thus, they have great symbolic significance. By claiming not only space but also a great amount of time, they gain attention. Protest camps create temporary spaces of the political and encompass many dimensions of social identity. Even if they have a priority issue ("anti-nuclear", "cruise-missile"), they usually offer space for numerous topics and groups. As temporary space, camps are typically located at the places against which the protest is directed. In principle, protest camps are a peaceful form of resistance, which can, however, turn into active, possibly violent resistance upon eviction. Protest camps – as varied as they are at the core – are characterized by a number of common features.

The archaeology of protest camps is usually an archaeology of contemporary times, which operates not only with archaeological methods but also with a wide range of approaches of (empirical) cultural sciences. For archaeolo-

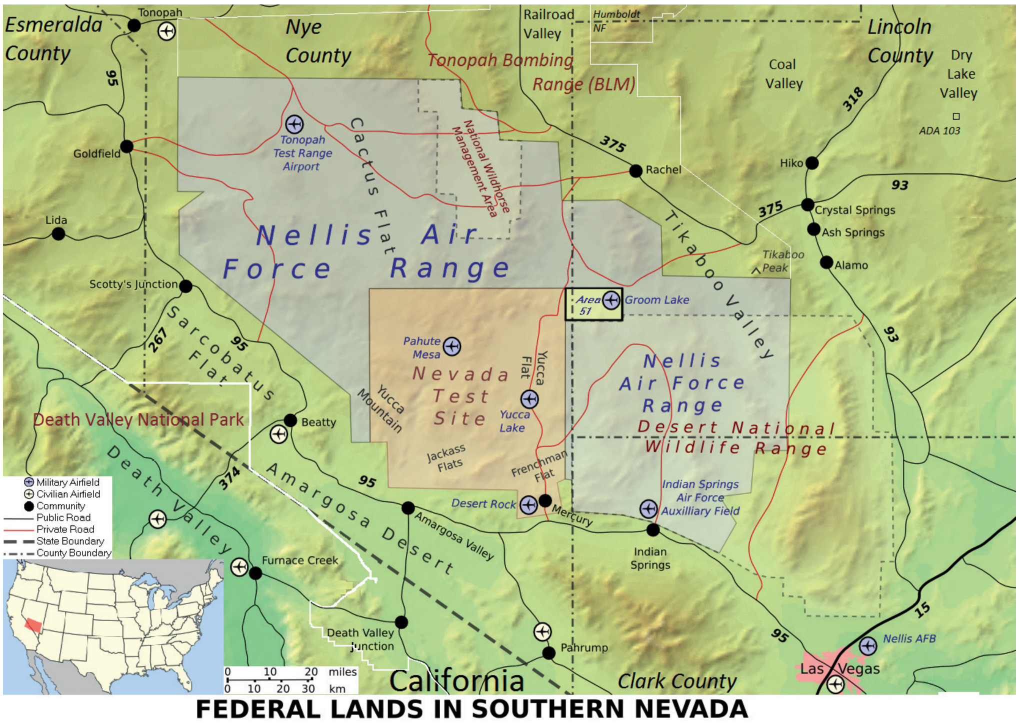
Esmeralda County
Tonopah
Nye County
Tonopah Bombing Range (BLM)
Railroad Valley
Humboldt NF
Lincoln County
Coal Valley
Dry Lake Valley
ADA 103
Goldfield
Tonopah Test Range Airport
Cactus Flat
National Wildhorse Management Area
375
Rachel
Hiko
93
318
Crystal Springs
Ash Springs
Alamo
Tikaboo Peak
Lida
Nellis Air Force Range
Tikaboo Valley
Scotty's Junction
Sarcobatus Flat
267
95
Area 51
Groom Lake
Pahute Mesa
Nevada Test Site
Yucca Flat
Yucca Lake
Yucca Mountain
Nellis Air Force Range
Desert National Wildlife Range
Death Valley National Park
Beatty
Jackass Flats
Frenchman Flat
Death Valley
374
Amargosa Desert
Desert Rock
Mercury
Amargosa Valley
Indian Springs Air Force Auxilliary Field
Indian Springs
Furnace Creek
Death Valley Junction
Pahrump
California
Clark County
Nellis AFB
15
Las Vegas
Military Airfield
Civilian Airfield
Community
Public Road
Private Road
State Boundary
County Boundary
0 10 20 miles
0 10 20 30 km
FEDERAL LANDS IN SOUTHERN NEVADA

Fig. 6. Nevada Test Site and its environment. Finlay McWalter. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wfm_area51_map_en.png]], "Wfm area51 map en" [https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/legalcode].

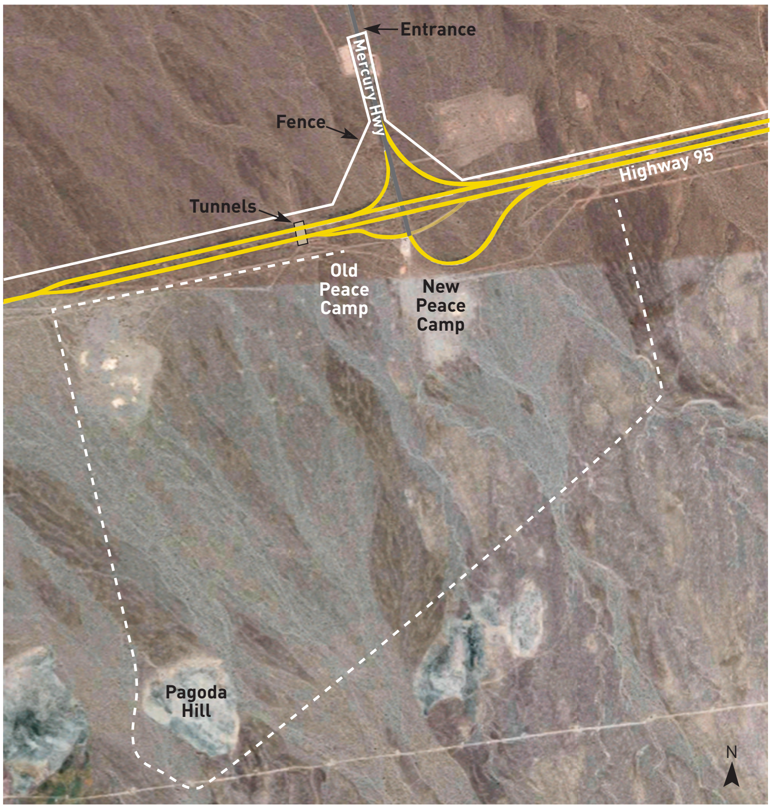
Entrance
Mercury Hwy
Fence
Highway 95
Tunnels
Old Peace Camp
New Peace Camp
Pagoda Hill
N

Fig. 7. Nevada Test Site, Nevada/USA. Map of the peace camp (map: J. Cordts, after C. Beck et al 2007).

gists, protest camps are significant objects of study for a number of reasons. In particular, they are significant as they constitute space over specific time periods. They are committed to the creation of certain identities that can be understood as counter-proposals to the target of the protests. Numerous factors are reflected in the materiality of protest camps: temporal limitations, specific collective identities, organisational forms and the access to resources and infrastructures. In this regard, the study of protest camps with archaeological means is significant in two respects. On the one hand, the analysis of the materiality of the camps is a contribution to the sociology and ethnology of the forms of protest. On the other hand, important methodological insights into the structures and processes of temporally and spatially limited stays of smaller groups or collectives can be gained.

Studies on the materiality of (protest) camps are still rare (Badcock/Johnson 2013). However, this is not likely due to a lack of scientific acceptance but rather to the specific character of protest camps. After the abandonment of or eviction from a protest camp, generally little evidence of a protest remains, particularly if a camp was built in a densely populated area.

Most notably, protest camps became a focus of archaeology by the work of the English archaeologist John Schofield. He became aware of them in the context of studies concerning relics of the Cold War. The joint project on Greenham Common is known, whereby interviews were conducted and further sources were consulted in addition to an excavation (Fiorato 2007; Schofield 2009, 99–111; Schofield/Anderton 2000). Greenham Common was a Royal Air Force base in Berkshire, Great Britain from 1942–1992 and played an important role during the Cold War. In the 1980s, a protest against the stationing of "cruise missiles" formed directly at the location. In particular, the "Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp", established in 1981 and at the same time part of the feminist movement, became internationally known, among other things, because only women were allowed access to the camp[7]. The camp existed until the 2000s. At the beginning of the year 2000, a "Commemorative and Historic Site" was established that existed until 2013.

Another example is the protest camp of Lees Cross/Endcliff of Stanton Moor near Matlock, Derbyshire, Great Britain. It is a camp of the late 1990s, which was primarily driven by the ecology movement. The trigger of the protest was an announcement of the Stancliffe Stone Company. It intended to reopen the stone quarries to mine high-quality sandstone. In order to achieve this, the company claimed old mining rights. The mining area is located in a national park and would have affected not only the fragile ecosystem but also a Bronze Age stone circle ("Nine Ladies"). The latter was also used by new pagans as a spiritual site. Starting in 1999, activists built a camp, which consisted mainly of tents, caravans and tree houses on an area of 32 ha. At times, the camp was inhabited by up to 80 people. It had an extensive infrastructure and stood out not least by having its own zip code. The protests lasted over nine years. The company first dispensed with exploitation after a long legal battle. In 2007, the last activists left the site and the camp was abandoned. Fieldwork was carried out in the following years (Badcock/Johnston 2009; Badcock/Johnston 2013).

The Nevada test site and the protest camp

In the following, an overview of the "Nevada Test Site" (NTS) grounds and the "peace camp" in front of its gates will be provided (**Fig. 6–7**). The latter was the focus of an interdisciplinary project, which is regarded as a successful example of the analysis of a protest camp (Beck et al. 2007; 2008; Schofield 2006; 2009, 75–86; C. Beck 2014). The peace camp was one of the "hot spots" of the US-American anti-nuclear movement up into the 1990s (Futrell/Brents 2003). The "Nevada National Security Site", also referred to as the "Nevada Test Site" (NTS) until 2010, has an expanse of ca. 3500 km^2 and is located in a secluded desert landscape some 100 km northwest of Las Vegas. From 1951–1992, more than 1000 nuclear weapons tests were carried out on the premises, of which 119 were performed above ground until 1958 (Fehner/Gosling 2000; NTS 2005; Beck 2002). The NTS terrain was originally settlement lands of the "western Shoshone" Indians. Since the 1950s, the site was systematically expanded and accommodated ca. 1100 buildings, four landing strips for airplanes and helicopters and an extensive road system. The entrance to NTS was located in the city of Mercury, which was a base for scientists and the military and at times counted up to 10,000 inhabitants. The terrain is divided into 30 so-called "areas", which partly had specific tasks and special buildings, test facilities, etc. The tests began in 1951 with the so-called Ranger series, which was the first nuclear weapons test series that was carried out on the territory of the United States after the Trinity-Test in 1945. For Las Vegas, the tests developed into a lucrative entertainment programme, since the atomic mushroom clouds were still visible from ca. 100 km distance. Less attractive was the fallout that spread over the region of southern Utah and is responsible for a significant rise in the rate of cancer (National Cancer Institute Report 1997, chap. 2). The NTS was used as a weapons testing ground until 1992. Since the late 1980s, a plan exists to use the nearby Yucca Mountains as a repository for high-level radioactive waste and to include part of the site in the depot. The plans were stopped in 2009. Today, the NTS is still used for the storage of low-level radioactive waste and for various experimental purposes, and it is also open to visitors[8].

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[7] [http://www.greenhamwpc.org.uk/historic.htm].

Protests developed parallel to the expansion of the NTS. Robert Futrell and Barbara Brents (2003) distinguish three phases ranging from 1957 to the early 1980s, from the 1980s to 1992 and the period following 1992. Little is known about the early protests. They were mainly supported by individuals and smaller, mostly religious groups (Futrell/Brents 2003, 747). In 1957, a group of Quakers, Mennonites and other pacifists protested on the 12th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima in a camp that was regularly occupied in the subsequent period and was established as the "protesters camp" (Futrell/Brents 2003, 750–751). Since the 1970s, a renewed increase of protests was recognized, which was, among other things, connected to pacifist movements. Since the 1980s, protests increased, which were supported by very different groups and initiatives. Futrell and Brents (Futrell/Brents 2003, 747) speak of "a wide range of large professionalized social movement organizations", which were especially noted as of 1984. Between 1986 and 1994, more than 536 demonstrations with ca. 38,000 participants took place. According to official figures, ca. 15,700 persons were arrested. Many groups were involved in the protests, whereby the most activists were organized by the "American Peace Test" and the "Nevada Desert Experience". Furthermore, members of the Franciscan Order, pacifists, veterans of the nuclear programme, those affected by the fallout (downwinders) and the Shoshone Indians also took part in the protests. The "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" movement brought activists from the USA and Kazakhstan together, and spiritually or environmentally motivated groups, such as the group "Mother Earth", are also to be mentioned. Just as varied as the activists were the forms of resistance. These included religious services, spiritual ceremonies and prayers of Christian and indigenous religious communities, as well as demonstrations, teach-ins or "walks" to the main entrance. Direct actions, which resulted in the delay of at least one nuclear test, have also been reported. In the late 1980s, discussions within the groups were carried out regarding the forms and strategies of resistance, which also dealt with questions concerning violent resistance. The latter was addressed in the context of respective governmental reprisals (Futrell/Brents 2003, 754). Overall, the protests remained non-violent and occurred within a performative process in a certain sense. A memorandum in 1992 sealed the end of the NTS, although the American government had already considered the setup of a permanent disposal repository in the neighboring Yucca Mountains since 1987. Futrell and Brents (2003, 759–760) consider various reasons why no violent protests or sabotage actions occurred at the NTS. On the one hand, the long duration of the protests and a certain ritualization of the conflicts on both sides played a role. On the other hand, sabotage actions at nuclear facilities are involved with non-assessable risks for everyone involved.

The record of resistance at the NTS is comprehensive and can represent the source variety and heterogeneity of knowledge formats and the base of knowledge for the archaeology of current times. Included are not only the materials but above all the oral, visual and written sources, which are usually not archived or processed. The "Nevada Test Site Oral History Project" is an attempt to save this body of knowledge from being forgotten. In the scope of this project, numerous interviews were conducted between 2003 and 2008. The selection primarily considered participants of the 1980s. Scientists as well as engineers, workers, military and federal officials were interviewed. In addition, "Native Americans" and their spiritual leaders, activists and demonstrators of the different protest groups were also interviewed. Furthermore, residents within the vicinity of the NTS area and particularly in the fallout areas ("downwinder") were also included in the interview process. The collection includes not only transcripts of the interviews but also documents, photographs, and audio and video clips[9]. Moreover, a number of websites were created by activists, which represent a collective memory and individual accounts of the protests particularly of the late 1980s[10].

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[8] See also [http://www.nv.energy.gov/about/nts.aspx] and [http://www.nationalatomictestingmuseum.org/]. About the protests, cf. for example [http://peacecampnts.blogspot.de/].

The protest camp itself was located south of the central entrance of the NTS and was separated from it by the highway, which ran in almost east-west direction. Since the protest or peace camp did not have any boundaries in a proper sense, it is difficult to provide information about its size. Due to surveys, Schofield specifies an expansion of ca. 240 ha (Fig. 7). This area was established since the 1950s as a location for protests, meetings, events, and for overnight stays. The uncultivated desert land was in public ownership. On the living conditions, James Donald Merlino states "And so, that was where they had the camp when they was out there for four or five days. They would camp right in the sagebrush. There was no water. There were sand huts but that was all. It was tough living"[11].

The camp was named the "protesters camp" by the participants and the media up into the 1980s (C. Beck et al. 2007, 299). During the 1980s, the camp was increasingly denoted as "peace camp". Different activists and groups of various political, social and ecological orientations met there annually. The span of the groups extends from "new age representatives" to anti-nuclear groups, peace initiatives and the Shoshone as indigenous representatives. The activities at the "peace camp" were varied, often not centrally coordinated and frequently spontaneous. From the sources it is known that the protests were seasonal and temporary until the late 1970s (Futrell/Brents 2003). With the rise of the movement in the 1980s, it was decided to carry out activities at the peace camp all year round. For this purpose, two "trailers" were installed, in which at least one person lived for a longer period of time. In 1989, the trailers were cleared and the hitherto existing "old camp" was disbanded. Already in March 1988, a ten-day mass protest occurred at which more than 8000 people participated. In connection with the action "Reclaim the Test Site", more than 1,200 protesters were arrested in one day. After the clearing of the old camp, the "new camp" was organized further to the east. Paul Colbert, the "program director of the Nevada Desert Experience", recalls the "old camp" as follows: "The line is down halfway to Mercury, which is where the old camp was, and that used to be where the protests were held. And so when they talk among themselves about crossing the line, they think somebody's down in there a ways"[12].

While the extension of the site could be quite well circumscribed during the surveys, there are quite different assessments in the memories of those interviewed concerning the location and size of the new peace camp. The interview that Suzanne Becker (SB) performed with Dorothy (Day) Ciarlo (DC) is revealing: "[SB] Now this camp, was this set up outside of Mercury on the highway, do you remember? [DC] My recollection is it was inside, but they couldn't have been. [SB] Well, behind the line. I mean it's still on the other side of the property? [DC] It had to be behind the line, yes. [SB] I'm just wondering if it's the same – there is a little area that is now known as Peace Camp up there where throughout the eighties and the nineties when the protests were really

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[9] [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/ntsohp/].

[10] For example [http://users.rcn.com/jrp2/protest/; http://vonne920.tripod.com/martin_sheen/activism1.html].

[11] Interview with James Donald Merlino, November 7, 2004. [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/u?/nts,1122].

[12] Interview with Paul Colbert, July 12, 2004. [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/u?/nts,1224].

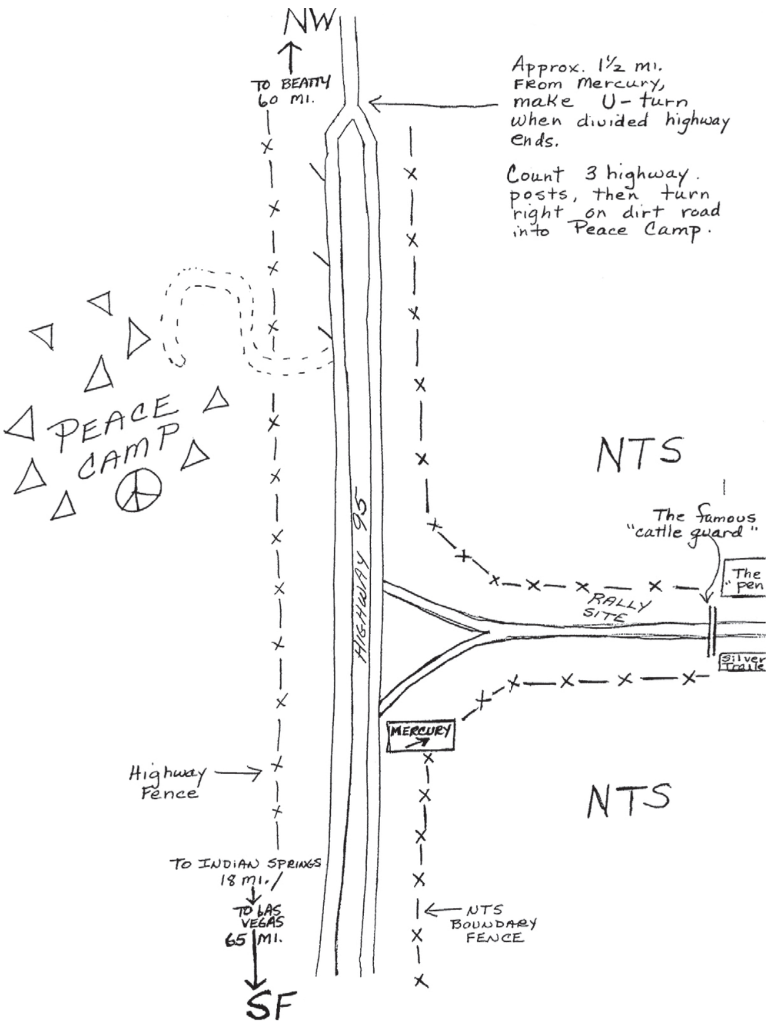
NW
TO BEATTY
60 MI.
Approx. 1½ mi. From Mercury, make U-turn when divided highway ends.
Count 3 highway posts, then turn right on dirt road into Peace Camp.
PEACE CAMP
NTS
HIGHWAY 95
The famous "cattle guard"
The "pen
RALLY SITE
Silver Traile
MERCURY
NTS
Highway Fence
TO INDIAN SPRINGS 18 MI.
TO LAS VEGAS 65 MI.
NTS BOUNDARY FENCE
SF

Fig. 8. Nevada Test Site, Nevada/USA. Map of the peace camp by Desert Waves AG, ca. 1988. [http://peacecampnts.blogspot.de/2011_04_01_archive.html].

picked up again, is where everybody camped and the hub of activity was. I'm just wondering if this is possibly the same location. [DC] It might be. I know that this camp was not far from this guard station and where the people that were committing civil disobedience actually walked into the site, and then of course they were arrested immediately"[13]. Others, such as David Buer ("Nevada Desert experience staff") are surprised about the size and location of the camp: "I was surprised at how close to the major highway it was. I was surprised at how close the gates were and the town of Mercury being there [...] So you had the Peace Camp area, it was a smaller area where the people were actually staying, but then there was this extended area and you might have people who would set up tents a little bit more remote"[14]. In addition to the results of the survey, the interviews and photos provide more information about the route maps[15]. On a map of the Desert Waves AG dated around 1988, the camp is only roughly specified, but the entrance area of the NTS (**Fig. 8**) is provided in detail. The "official" map from 1987 (**Fig. 9**), however, specifies different areas of the peace camp. The "tranquility base" is marked with a green flag, and the "art's camp" and the "Dept. of Peace" are noted as central "institutions". An elevation in the west is noted as "Sugar Mountain" (red flag), which, however, is not identical with "Pagoda Hill". Furthermore, a "camping" area and a car park are mentioned.

The surveys were carried out according to the normal sequence of an archaeological prospection. During two campaigns in 2002, 771 finds and features were measured and documented for an area of about 240 ha. By means of the documented "features", the diversity of the groups and the forms of protest are clearly reflected, but also the conditions of conservation. It is obvious that stationary constructions are the most durable features and a majority of them were stone constructions. There are foundations for sculptures or flags, enclosures for areas, such as tent camping sites or path boundaries, as well as individually standing stoves or other structures. These are partly documented on contemporary photos (**Fig. 10**)[16].

In addition, even "negative" features are remarkable. These include areas that were systematically cleared of stones and boulders and served as sleeping or resting places. Rarely encountered were features and finds made of

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[13] Interview with Dorothy (Day) Ciarlo, August 18, 2005. [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/u?/nts,1281].

[14] Interview with David Buer, August 9, 2006. [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/u?/nts,1177].

[15] [http://peacecampnts.blogspot.de/2011/04/peace-camp-maps.html].

[16] [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/objects/pho/8184. DigiID: pho011304].

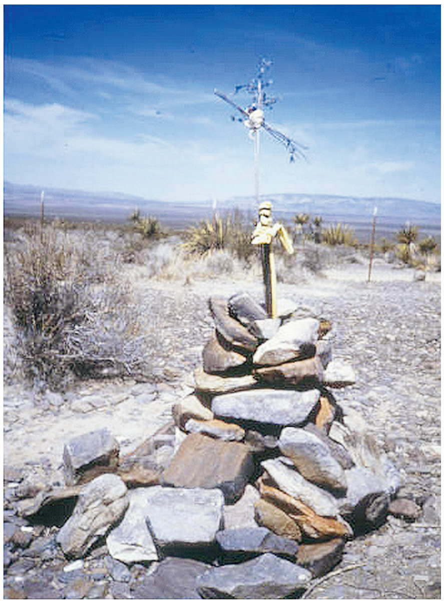

Fig. 10. Nevada Test Site, Nevada/USA. Rock foundations for sculptures or flags.

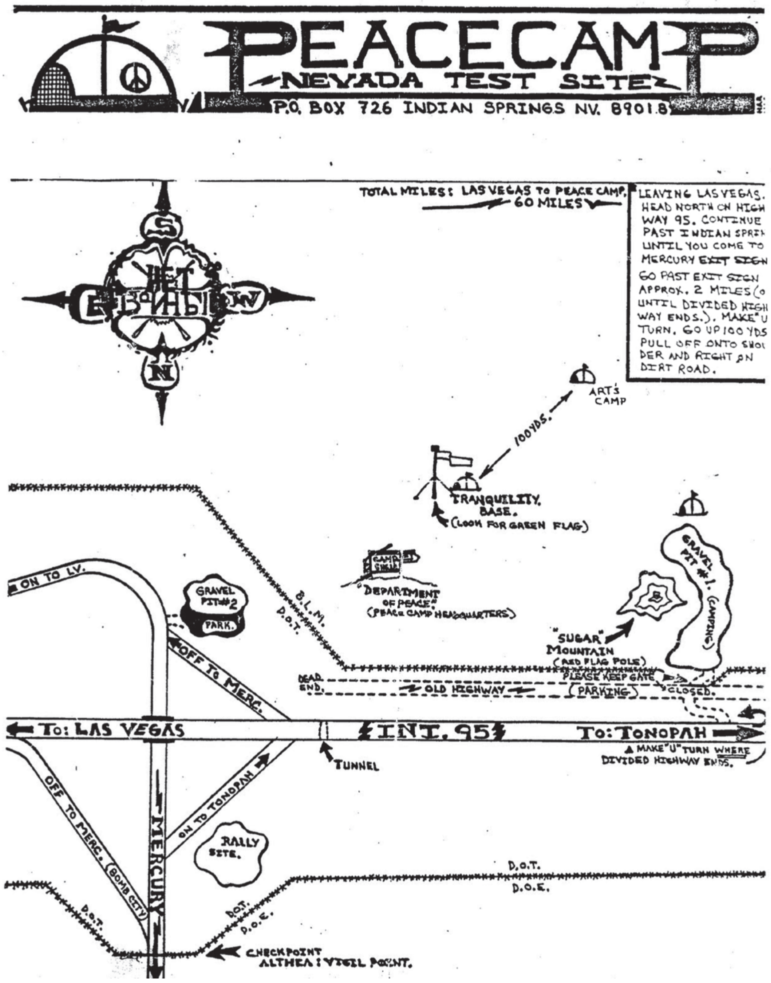
PEACECAMP
NEVADA TEST SITE
P.O. BOX 726 INDIAN SPRINGS NV. 89018
TOTAL MILES: LAS VEGAS TO PEACE CAMP. 60 MILES
LEAVING LAS VEGAS. HEAD NORTH ON HIGH WAY 95. CONTINUE PAST INDIAN SPRI UNTIL YOU COME TO MERCURY EXIT SIGN GO PAST EXIT SIGN APPROX. 2 MILES (O UNTIL DIVIDED HIGH WAY ENDS.). MAKE "U" TURN. GO UP 100 YDS PULL OFF ONTO SHOU DER AND RIGHT ON DIRT ROAD.
S
E
W
N
ART'S CAMP
100 YDS.
TRANQUILITY BASE.
(LOOK FOR GREEN FLAG)
"DEPARTMENT OF PEACE" (PEACE CAMP HEADQUARTERS)
GRAVEL PIT #1. (CAMPING)
"SUGAR" MOUNTAIN (RED FLAG POLE)
PLEASE KEEP GATE CLOSED.
DEAD END.
OLD HIGHWAY
(PARKING)
ON TO LV.
GRAVEL PIT #2
PARK.
B.L.M.
D.O.T.
OFF TO MERC.
TO: LAS VEGAS
INT. 95
TO: TONOPAH
MAKE "U" TURN WHERE DIVIDED HIGHWAY ENDS.
TUNNEL
OFF TO MERC. (BOMB CITY)
MERCURY
ON TO TONOPAH
RALLY SITE.
D.O.T.
D.O.E.
CHECKPOINT ALTHEA: VIGIL POINT.

Fig. 9. Nevada Test Site, Nevada/USA. "Official" Peace Camp Map 1987. [http://peacecampnts.blogspot.de/2011_04_01_archive.html].

wood, plastic or metal; the first was rarely encountered in the desert und also served as fire material; the latter was probably gathered and disposed of. Furthermore, "everyday objects" have also been recovered, including toys, lighters, or nails. How is a lack of a corresponding find spectrum to be assessed? On the one hand, it can speak for the rigorous waste prevention or the disposal of waste by the activists or, on the other hand, for waste disposal by the county. Colleen Beck, Harold Drollinger and John Schofield (2007, 302) assume a "set of unwritten rules" followed by the activists. This statement contrasts with a remark by James Merlino, who spoke of intolerable sanitary conditions and waste in an interview: "[…] And cleaned it up because it was – trash and – it was ugly […] Sanitation was zero and it was just not a good place. It wasn't good right outside of the test site. That's the first thing you see on that side of the road, and there's a test site just on the other side. So yes, we did get that cleaned up, but here again the government give us the dump trucks and the loaders and they have operators and teamsters. So it worked very well"[17].

During the survey, geoglyphs were most frequently identified. These stone structures characterize the protesters and their protests through their richness in variety. The geoglyphs include peace signs and chi-rho symbols, as well as spirals, flowers and snake images. Often, however, stone circles are exhibited, whose meaning cannot be deciphered without further analysis. Apart from daily waste, the find material also includes objects that can be associated with the diverse activities and were consciously "deposited" or simply lost. These include the remnants of masks, crystal stones or so-called "dreamcatchers". Objects identified as "dreamcatch-

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[17] Interview with James Donald Merlino, November 7, 2004. [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/u?/nts,1122].

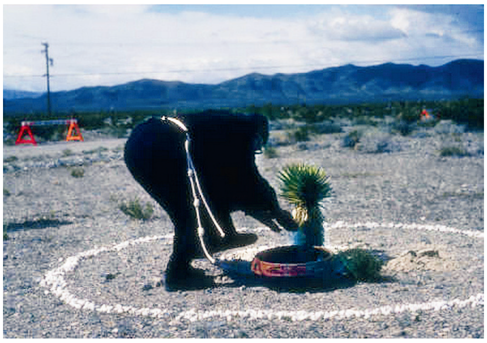

Fig. 11. Cactus planting ceremony. [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/objects/pho/7364. DigiID: pho011019].

ers" served to catch "good dreams" and were adopted by various groups since the 1960s in light of the "Pan-Indian movement". At the NTS camps, the dreamcatchers can, however, not exclusively be associated with indigenous groups but were also used by esoteric groups. Unlike the surveys, these objects are not mentioned in the interviews, for example, by the Shoshone Indians. Other actions cannot be defined through material culture or cannot be recognized by such. Thus, Rosemary Lynch reports: "We found a place in the desert and everybody that came brought a little cactus [...] and we had a cactus planting ceremony"[18]. Similar actions are also documented by photographs, such as the action of the "Nevada Desert Experience" in 1984 (**Fig. 11**)[19]. The individual and collective memories of the interviewees did not include the activists Terry Tempest Williams and Ben Linder (C. Beck et al. 2007, 302–308). But the researchers discovered the initials "TTW" on the northern area of the terrain in the field. The initials could be identified as an acronym for "Terry Tempest Williams". The writer, ecologist and peace activist was not involved in the protest at the NTS, but belonged to the so-called "downsiders" of southern Utah – as did their families – who were particularly intensively exposed to the fallout of testing in the 1950s and 1960s. Features, which can be "personalized", include a rectangular stone setting ("rock garden") for the activist Ben Linder, who was killed in Nicaragua in 1987. At this stone setting, numerous objects were placed, which are to be regarded as gifts or had commemorative function (C. Beck et al. 2007, 305 fig. 17). Also no longer present or considered unimportant was the "Porta loo", a mobile toilet unit, which was donated by the authorities. Due to its fate, symbolic destruction and transformation into a sign of resistance can be read. The chemical toilet was "filled" with rubble. By its installation at a central point of the camp, it underwent a transformation into a sign of resistance.

Next to both camps, "Pagoda Hill" – a 150 m high elevation located in the southwest of the area – formed much more than a terrain marking point (Fig. 7). It became a centre for political and spiritual activities. The hill provided an overview of the NTS along with the city of Mercury. Although Pagoda Hill was important for the activists, it is only mentioned in one interview and is referred to here as a "lookout"[20]. This may characterize the problems of oral tradition. Was the area present to such a great extent in the communal memory that it was not necessary to mention it, or was its importance only restricted to certain times or groups? This presumption is contradicted by the surveys (C. Beck et al. 2007, 308–312).They provided a variety of features and finds. These are associated with ceremonial activities and support the interpretation that Pagoda Hill served as a focal point for ritual activities. This is indicated by a female figure made of red clay that was found during the survey. The face of the figure is covered with ulcers and it carries a necklace with the inscription "DOE Nuke Waste Dump" (C. Beck et al. 2007, 311 fig. 17.12). Oral tradition and objective sources, however, correspond with regard to the "Shadow Children". Here, we are dealing with two figures, which were found during the survey (Shofield/Cocroft 2007). The children, shown in a crouching position, were found lying in an oval stone circle (**Fig. 12**). Rosemary Lynch, sister of the Franciscan Order and one of the founders of the "Nevada Desert Experience", recalls: "An artist made two figures, a black child and a white child, out of some kind of plastic material. Beautiful. And we went far up into the mountain area out there, and we had this ceremony. We called them the Shadow Children. And with time and rain and wind they disintegrated, but somewhere I have the photo of that, just that unknown monument to the children who had been hurt through nuclear testing"[21]. Elsewhere, the nun explains: "we had a ceremony installing them kind of up on the mountain near the test site"[22], which could possibly indicate Pagoda Hill. David Buer from the Nevada Desert Experience also recalls the Shadow Children and provides insights on the camp: "And then even further out you have peace signs made out of white rocks that were found or pictures. Near the Shadow Children there were pictures of loved ones, who'd been affected by testing, put out on the rocks ceremoniously and lovingly, and people would leave their names and other mementos". Just as the geoglyphs provide excellent insights on the materiality of the actions, the interviews show the various aspects of actions beyond their physical characteristics.

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[18] Interview with Rosemary Lynch, June 8, 2004. [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/u?/nts,1287].

[19] [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/objects/pho/7364. DigiID: pho011019].

[20] Interview with David Buer, August 9, 2006. [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/u?/nts,1177].

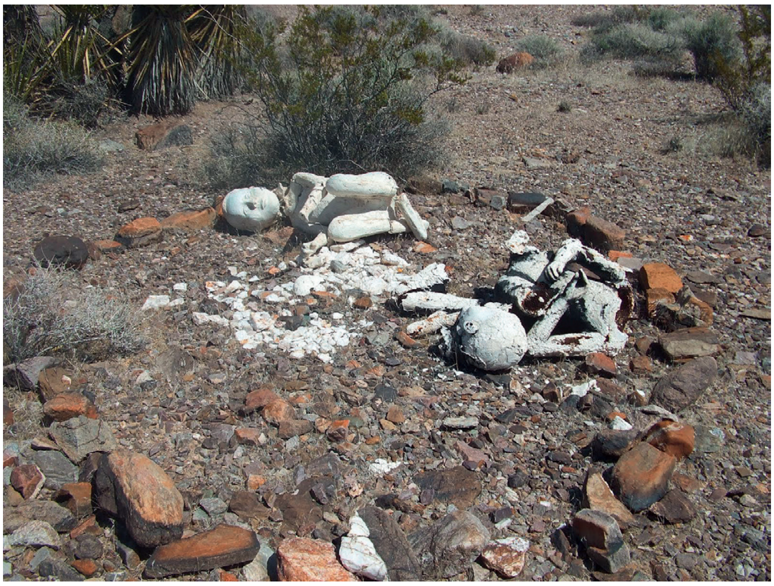

Fig. 12. Nevada Test Site, Nevada/USA. Shadow Children. [http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-8bfCVS2zri0/T4I10DYa-LI/AAAAAAAABKs/Nzkcv2LaUMw/s1600/DSCF9476.JPG].

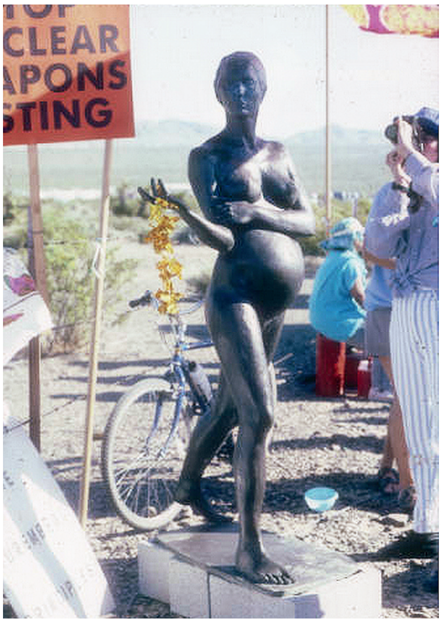

Fig. 13. Nevada Test Site, Nevada/USA. Slide of a statue and protest signs at a demonstration near the Nevada Test Site on Mother's Day, May 10, 1987.

Other objects associated with the events are only transmitted in photographs. Among them is a sculpture of a naked pregnant woman, who was set up on Mother's Day 1987 (**Fig. 13**)[23]. In addition, the "Blessed Yucca of the Four Spirits" (**Fig. 14**) shows that protest was captured in materiality here with an emphasis on transcendence. The performative action "Princesses against Plutonium" in 1988 appears to have left little trace. Whether the masks found during the surveys are similar to the ones worn by the activists of "Princesses against Plutonium" remains a topic for further research. The performance of the drama group from San Francisco appears to be no longer present in the memories of the interviewees, although a photo of a "princess" was published in the media (**Fig. 15**). The picture of Richard Misrach[24] represents a very specif-

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[21] Interview with Rosemary Lynch, June 8, 2004. [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/u?/nts,1287].

[22] Interview with Corbin Harney and with Rosemary Lynch, August 4, 2005. [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/u?/nts,1108].

[23] [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/objects/pho/7635. DigiID: pho011138].

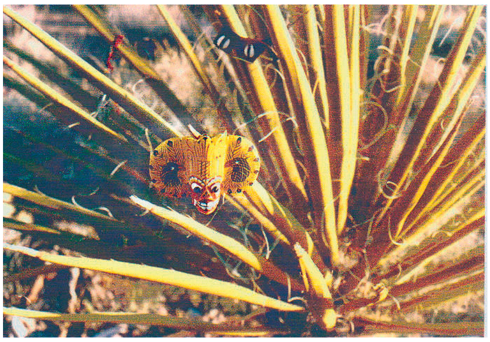

Fig. 14. Nevada Test Site, Nevada/USA. Blessed Yucca of the Four Spirits. [http://peacecampnts.blogspot.de/2011_04_01_archive.html].

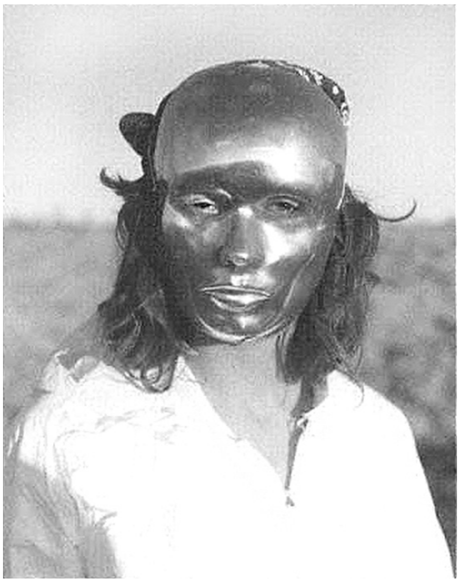

Fig. 15. Nevada Test Site, Nevada/USA. Princess of Plutonium, Nuclear Test Site, Nevada, 1988 (photo: Richard Misrach). [http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft8g-5008gq&chunk.id=d0e11502&toc.depth=1&toc.id=d0e11351&brand=ucpress].

ic level of "protest". In his photographic work, he dealt intensively with toxic and nuclear waste deposits in Nevada and other states, for example, in a photo series from 1985–1987.

In addition to the camps and Pagoda Hill, further areas are represented by the entrance to the NST and the drainage tunnel under the highway (Beck et al. 2008). The latter provided a path to the entrance of the NTS if one did not want to cross the highway. In the tunnel, a lot of graffiti remains (**Fig. 16**) which was not mentioned in the interviews. The graffiti is currently being evaluated (Beck et al. 2015). In contrast, attention is drawn to the entrance of the NTS, which appears to have had both practical and symbolic meaning for the activists. James Donald Merlino, Nye County Lieutenant, remembers just as the activists, who broke into the grounds: "They would come into Mercury and we'd catch them in Mercury. I don't remember any damage, very little graffiti or any of that kind of stuff"[25].

Resistance in area II

At protest camps, politics are exhibited by every day, physically-representational and especially spatial aspects. The areas of protest camps are spaces of multiple social practices, but they mainly produce a sense of belonging that arises not only on the part of the protesters but also on the part of the subjects of the protest. The NTS and its diverse record transmission represent very different aspects of the research on material forms and scopes of action. An archaeological investigation of resistance can only be successful if the concept of materiality is widely defined and the discourses on resistance are analysed according to rules of production, which are followed by those of materiality. In its historical dimensionality, the NTS and the peace camp stand for the dialectic of social movements of the 20th century. In spatial terms, the camps already marked the other and the elsewhere. The people within the peace camps were located – at least for a time – outside of the legitimate order and were thus bound more closely to each other. The camp, built for the purpose of resistance and non-violent actions, was also a place for "social experiments". In the materi-

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[24] [http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft8g5008gq&chunk.id=d0e11502&toc.depth=1&toc.id= d0e11351&brand=ucpress].

[25] Interview with James Donald Merlino, November 7, 2004. [http://digital.library.unlv.edu/u?/nts,1122].

ality of the site, group-specific patterns are just as tangible as general trends in society. General expressions of communication are discernible, such as graffiti, and specific protest forms, such as the Shadow Children or chi-ro signs, can be identified. It is also clear that the parallel record of events can have very diverse forms and the associated transtextuality produces specific narratives. One is inclined to let material tradition fall into the background behind other records, but the different strands of tradition are nevertheless clearly visible.

Protest camps are simultaneously "contested spaces". They represent areas that are associated with disputes, contradictions and contrasts. In fact, the contrasts could not be greater: here, a camp measuring ca. 20 km^2 , there testing grounds nearly 4000 km^2 large; here tents and a provisional infrastructure, there planned high technology; here often spontaneous actions and protest forms, there a research program that has been planned for years. "Contested space" also means the realization of memory about the appropriation of space. This is also well demonstrated on the basis of protest camps and the NTS. It is not only the long period of use and protest, during which unique performativity developed. Rather, in both geographical locations fundamental and contrasting notions of political responsibility in a global perspective were manifested. Thus, nuclear tests appear to be a guarantor of world security and democracy according to governmental perspectives, while the activists refer to their responsibility towards society and their descendants and emphasize indigenous origins. However, it would be too simplistic, if protest camps are reduced to pure dichotomies. In this sense, Christian Scholl (2012) discussed "contested spaces" in conjunction with protests against the World Economic Summits and demonstrated the entanglement of both. This also applies to NTS. The materiality of the NTS and the peace camps appears to be influenced by contrasts, but in interviews and further memories the hybrid narrative becomes clear. Employees of the NTS appreciated – at least in retrospect – and indirectly sympathized with the activists.

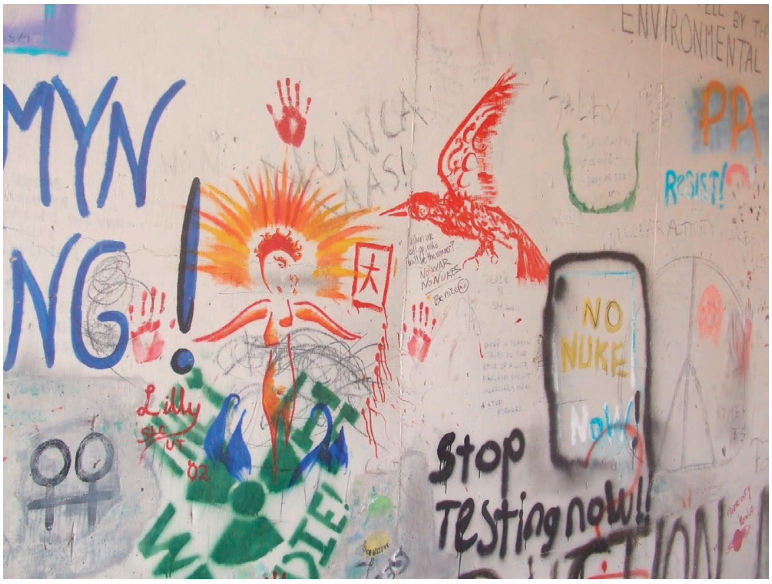

Fig. 16. Nevada Test Site, Nevada/USA. Graffiti inside the tunnel. [http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-YhlpMzsgYwE/T4I1gtcUC9I/AAAAAAAABKg/wtk_ie6GNMo/s1600/DSCF9483.JPG].

Protest camps are similar to "short-term events". According to their archaeological formation processes, they are comparable to battlefields, but also festivals (A.S. Beck et al. 2007; Fiære-Risbuna 2012; White 2013) or the living space of non-sedentary persons (Zimmermann 2013). With regard to their structures, settlements and economic forms that are based on mobility can also be mentioned. This includes nomadism, transhumance or pastoralism in recent, sub-recent or also prehistoric societies. It is also worth questioning, if comparable feature and find structures also appear, for example, overnight or as resting places, places of waste disposal or food preparation. In methodological terms, protest camps can be categorized between singularly visited places and places of seasonal use. With its 50-year history of usage, the NTS is rather an exception and therefore reveals methodological problems. Only the dense record makes it possible to distinguish continuities and breaches of usage and forms of action. Many aspects are not reflected in material features, others cannot be categorized without further information. Nevertheless, this does not mean that archaeological research cannot make a substantive contribution. It rather points out that only a dense description of the fragmentarily transmitted image of all singular source groups enables clarification in its entirety.

Materiality of Resistance

From the perspective of an object-oriented science such as archaeology, protest and resistance are manifested not only from texts, signs and discourse but also in things and materiality. Objects are active players in negotiation processes. Things acquire their own capacity for action in specific relations and exchange processes between subjects and objects. Things obtain a history and are central not only for the "identity formation" of subjects. They can even be memory-forming.

The compaction of sources and the increasing parallelism of different sources are characteristic features of archaeologies of historical epochs. Thus, perspectives are not only widened but they require transdisciplinary discourse. Particularly in recent times, technical and methodological approaches used by archaeologists are not classically characterized by excavations, but use a wide range of cultural studies approaches, whose common denominator is based on investigations of materiality in all its manifestations.

A remaining fundamental question is the comparability and transferability of presented analyses in association with earlier epochs. The latter include medieval and early historical periods as well as prehistoric societies. This question cannot be answered in general and is ultimately dependent on the scientific orientation of a researcher. Certainly, we are dealing with highly complex pre-modern, modern and post-modern societies in general and capitalistic industrial societies in particular, which are only partially comparable with prehistoric or ancient societies. From an anthropological or cross-cultural comparative perspective, the phenomena discussed here are structurally similar without implying that their historical path dependencies are negated. In my view, the chosen examples can at the same time be used as "reference systems", which render certain human behaviours comprehensible across epochs and societies. Not least, dense transmission provides a corrective. Oral, written and visual sources can be positively correlated with materiality or even confirm specific cases. Historical archaeology is often confronted with the accusation that certain acts and structures are not reflected in substantive traditions or no significant gains are achieved by archaeology. This is certainly true in some cases and is also repeatedly evident in the examples discussed here. A dense parallel record is admittedly no guarantee that "everything is known". Thus, actions represented by materiality may occasionally appear to be completely different, are simply not mentioned in written or visual records or are no longer available in the memories of actors.

The examples exhibit very individual forms and scenes of action. At Joseph Bruin's slave prison, no tangible protest or resistance is identifiable. But behaviours become tangible, for example, with the proven magical practices that were well-known among the actors and provided a degree of stability for the individuals and the collective. The reference to ritual and religious acts and/or a corresponding metaphysic can also be associated with an appeal to the appropriate authorities to improve the current situation or to punish the torturers. The residential sites and settlements of the maroons are, however, a result of resistance, which manifests itself, among other things, as the consequence of escape attempts from the plantations. Here, resistance obtains space and forms identities, which are still present until today. The Nevada Peace Camp is certainly the most immediate form of protest among the examples presented here. Protest culture is "within reach" and the cause of the protests is directly visible. At the same time, the forms of protest are extremely various. In particular, the peace camp shows that materiality is one side of a protest, but that it cannot simply be equated with the preservation of the material.

Social movements are comprised of people in motion with their special performativities and corporality. Spaces are occupied by means of common social practices. Whether at a slave prison, settlements of maroons or the Nevada Peace Camp: the respective players shape and create places and spaces for a time, which are initially characterized by contradictions. The slave camp described here was located in the middle of the city of Alexandria, and was equally a known and an unknown place for the white population. As a "warehouse", it was a place where the racist ideology of the inequality and superiority of race was materialized economically. The sanctuaries of the maroons represented a reversal of the latter. They were hidden places that were geographically but also culturally and socially based on detachment. They were located outside of the colonial society of the white planters, but were present in the perception of the planters as spaces of resistance. The peace camp can be categorized apart from both the slave camp and the maroon sanctuaries. It was located immediately outside of the test site and was created and developed in contrast to it. This is reflected in the organization and structures of life at the peace camp and the test site as well as directly in the distinction between activists and "employees". Just as the protesters had no access to the test site, their opponents were also formally denied access to the camp.

Resistance and protest are based on different assessments of domination and its legitimacy. Even if domination and resistance represent a contrastive pair, they are not only mutually dependent but are also interwoven. This is also clear from the examples presented here. At least multiple spaces are generated in part that do not necessarily exist from the contrast between "black" and "white", "slave" and "colonial master" or "peace activists" and "test proponents". In a somewhat different perspective, resistance manifests itself on very different scales. The abolition movement supported the ransoming of slaves, just as the maroons depended on a network that was not only supported by slaves. The protests against the NTS also found understanding among the employees of the test site and were differentially evaluated among different social groups. Not least, the different forms of remembrance about resistance are put into perspective with the examples provided here. Today, the "Joseph Bruin Jail" is a memorial site about the period of slavery in Virginia. The settlements and the culture of the maroons in Suriname or St. Croix are preserved in the collective memory of the descendants of the self-freed slaves – the maroon people – and equally play a role, for example, in the identity of the Republic of Suriname. A very special remembrance culture becomes tangible at the Nevada Test Site grounds. The peace camp is mainly present in the memories of those involved during the time of protests or is passed on by means of oral history projects. However, the test site – even more than the camp of the peace activists – appears to stand as a witness to a world that was inspired by the belief in the peacemaking power of the atomic bomb. Research by historical archaeology on the materiality of protest and resistance is thus not only an engagement with methodological concepts and issues but also concerns one's own position to a far greater extent than in other subject areas.

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Social inequality – but in particular also social resistance against corresponding social hierarchies – occupies a prominent position in almost all current societies. In order to continue to advance in the tradition of addressing necessary discourses on these topics in archaeology, two scientific meetings were held in Kiel in 2014 and 2015, specifically: "The Archaeology of Rebellion" and "Social Inequality as a Topic in Archaeology". The topic of social resistance was discussed for the first time in Europe for prehistoric and protohistoric societies. As a result, it could be clearly determined that the identification of social conflicts and social resistance is successful for many archaeological case studies. Accordingly, the interpretation of numerous archaeological contexts must be seen in a new light.

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